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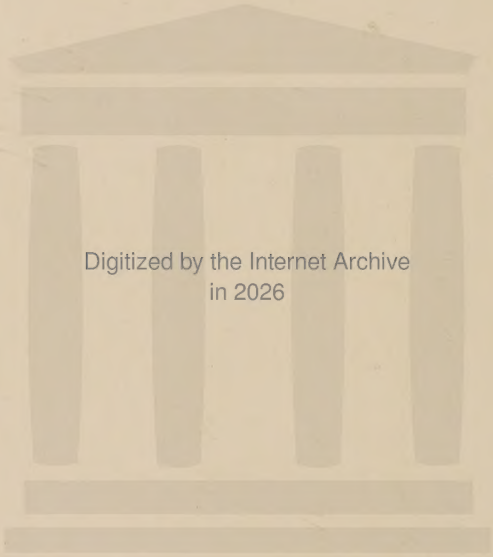
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LEADERS OF THE CHURCH

1800—1900

EDITED BY

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL

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LEADERS OF THE CHURCH

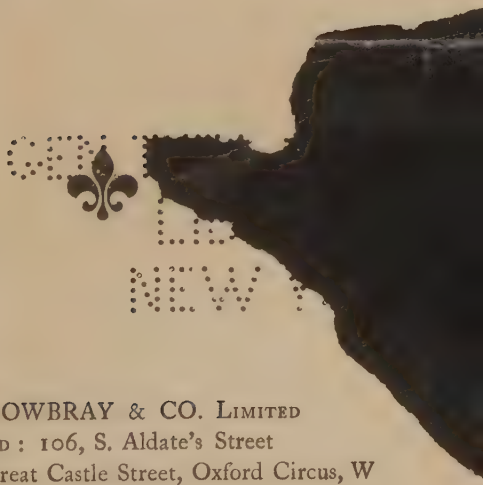
1800–1900

EDITED BY GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL

DEAN CHURCH

BY

D. C. LATHBURY



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GENERAL PREFACE.

IT seems expedient that the origin and scope of this new Series of Biographies should be briefly explained.

Messrs. A. R. Mowbray and Co. had formed the opinion that Ecclesiastical Biography is apt to lose in attractiveness and interest, by reason of the technical and professional spirit in which it is generally handled. Acting on this opinion, they resolved to publish some short Lives of "Leaders of the Modern Church," written exclusively by laymen. They conceived that a certain freshness might thus be imparted to subjects already more or less familiar, and that a class of readers, who are repelled by the details of ecclesiasticism, might be attracted by a more human, and in some sense a more secular, treatment of religious lives.

This conception of Ecclesiastical Biography agreed entirely with my own prepossessions; and I gladly acceded to the publishers' request that I would undertake the general superintendence of the series. I am not without the hope that these handy and readable books may be of some service to the English clergy. They set forth the impressions produced on

the minds of devout and interested layme by the characters and careers of some gre ecclesiastics. It seems possible that a know ledge of those impressions may stimulat and encourage that "interest in public affair in the politics and welfare of the country, and in "the civil life of the people," whic Cardinal Manning noted as the peculiar virtu of the English Priesthood; and the lack c which he deplored as one of the chief defec of the Priesthood over which he himse presided.[1]

G. W. E. RUSSELL.

S. Mary Magdalene's Day,
1905.

[1] See "Hindrances to the Spread of the Catho Church in England," at the end of Purcell's *Life Cardinal Manning.*

PREFACE.

THE reader will see at once that this little book could not have been written had I not been permitted to borrow freely from many larger volumes. My warmest thanks are due first of all to Miss Church, without whose consent I could not have undertaken my task; to Messrs. Macmillan for their generous permission to borrow freely from Church's *Life and Letters*, as well as from his published writings, especially *The Oxford Movement;* to Messrs. Longman for similar leave to quote from *The Beginning of the Middle Ages;* and to Mr. Edward Bellasis and Mr. Wilfrid Ward for the extracts they have allowed me to make from the *Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ*, and from *William George Ward and The Oxford Movement.*

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	School and College	1
II.	The Oxford Movement: First Phase	10
III.	The Oxford Movement: Second Phase	35
IV.	"Nobis Procuratoribus non Placet"	50
V.	Oxford after Newman	64
VI.	Life at Whatley	78
VII.	First Years at S. Paul's	92
VIII.	The Return to Controversy	100
IX.	The Public Worship Regulation Act	116
X.	Strife in the Church	124
XI.	The Truce of God	139
XII.	Letters	154
XIII.	The Writer: I. Historian	168
XIV.	The Writer: II. Critic	203
XV.	The Preacher	212
XVI.	Last Days	221

Leaders of the Church

1800–1900

DEAN CHURCH

CHAPTER I.

School and College.

Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff quotes in his diary a saying of a certain Jesuit Father that "a man may do an immense deal of good if he does not care who gets the credit for it." Dean Church's career is an excellent example of the truth of this theory of life. For some twenty years he was the most influential Churchman of the last century—the man whose judgment was held in the highest esteem by the few who knew him, the man who did most to determine the course of ecclesiastical affairs. And yet few careers were more removed from the public eye. Though he was to be the historian of the Oxford Movement, it had already been three years in progress when he took his degree, and the incident which most brought him into

prominence in the course of it was quickly forgotten in the excitement of Newman's secession. When he left Oxford in 1852 it was to take charge of a small country parish, where he remained for nineteen years. The pastoral care of two hundred souls is not one of the roads to fame, and, though some of his most striking Essays were reprinted soon after he went to Whatley, and the most original perhaps of his Oxford sermons were preached during his stay there, his appointment to the Deanery of S. Paul's came as an absolute surprise to the public. His name had not been in men's mouths, and few then knew how wise had been Mr. Gladstone's choice. From that time, indeed, the seclusion which he loved passed out of his reach. The Deans of S. Paul's preach in their own Cathedral only on the very greatest festivals, but the rarity of Church's sermons made each of them an event. The reforms, which were to make S. Paul's the first of English Cathedrals in achievement and influence, had been begun before his arrival. But their complete accomplishment necessarily depended on the energetic support of the new Dean. Though the occasions when he took part in ecclesiastical controversies were still as few as he could make them, even his dislike of publicity was never permitted to cloud his conception of public duty. In these various ways, therefore, though by no desire of his own, he became a conspicuous figure in London and

in the Church, and, had Mr. Gladstone been able to persuade him, on Archbishop Tait's death, to leave S. Paul's for Lambeth, the change would have caused none of the wonder which had been evoked by the earlier promotion.[1]

Richard William Church was born at Lisbon on the 25th of April, 1815. Three years later his parents went to live in Florence, and there, and at school at Leghorn, Richard lived till his father's death in 1820. His mother then returned to England, and sent her son to school at Redlands, near Bristol. In 1833 he went into residence at Wadham College, Oxford, took a First Class in 1836, was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel in 1838, and ordained Deacon at Christmas, 1839.

By the father's side Church came of Quaker parentage. No religious body whose separate life has been so short has left so distinct an impression upon its members. A certain sobriety in judgment, consideration in action, restraint in the formation of opinions, direct and habitual responsibility to an unseen Power, have been the constant marks of the best examples of the "Friends." His father, indeed, left the Society on his marriage and was baptised in the Church of England. But

[1] "So Church has refused to sit in the seat of Anselm. . . . How strange it seems! But there is no doubt, though he himself was doggedly silent on the subject, that he had the offer."—*Letters of Frederick Lord Blachford*, p. 417.

those who love to trace out the sequence of hereditary qualities may please themselves by discovering these same features in the Dean of S. Paul's. How interwoven with his life these characteristics were is best told in the words of his son-in-law, the Bishop of Oxford[1] :—"He was apt to take with him, in judging the affairs and cases of ordinary life, a broader volume of thought, a greater multitude of considerations, than most men bear in mind. He was less likely than most men to forget, in forming a judgment, something that should have been remembered : something that told upon the problem, and might help one towards precisely solving it. One constantly felt, when one was seeking counsel from him, how much his mind was carrying as it did its work. It carried much and yet was never cumbered ; partly because he had a singular habit of disregarding, as if by set purpose, what was really trivial ; never worrying himself or others over little things, and even, with all his own exactness, letting harmless blameless inaccuracy sometimes go unnoticed, as though life were too short, too full, too grave, for a man to take every chance of setting others right."[2]

In an otherwise uneventful childhood, ten

[1] Dr. Paget.

[2] *Life and Letters of Dean Church.* Edited by his daughter, Mary C. Church. With a Preface by the Dean of Christ Church. Macmillan. 1895. pp. xiv., xv.

years spent in a foreign country count for much. The love of Italy and Italian things, which was implanted in Richard Church between 1818 and 1828, never left him. Later on Switzerland secured a large place in his affections; but, though it was in the Alps that he loved to spend his holidays, "Florence," says Miss Church, "in the Dean's recollection always seemed a home, and when he revisited it years after it still wore to him the same homelike and familiar look which he remembered—the one place it seemed to him that he never tired of." The recollection of Italy was doubtless made more vivid by the contrast with the tameness of the years that immediately followed. Redlands School seems to have left but little impression on him. "We were made," he says in some recollections of School and College life which he put on paper long afterwards, "to learn rules carefully. But as to any spirit in our lessons, or examples or scholarship or scholarly tastes, there was none." He formed no enduring friendships either among the masters or among his schoolfellows. "He went very much his own way, a reserved, serious, studious boy, loving books and already beginning to collect them; and with an eye to editions, which he used to search for among the second-hand book-shops in Bristol." Such interest as the Head Master took in the boys related chiefly to the teaching of religion. Dr. Swete was a pronounced Evangelical.

The boys "were encouraged, side by side with their classical work, to write out sermon notes and to find texts in defence of Justification by Faith, Sanctification, Total Depravity, Election, and Final Perseverance."

It is interesting to compare the effect of this early teaching on Church's mind with that which a somewhat similar training had upon the kindred minds of Newman and Liddon. With Newman it went deeper and lasted longer than with either of the others. In the *Apologia* he describes himself as more certain of his inward conversion when he was fifteen, "than that I have hands and feet," and speaks of Thomas Scott[1] as the writer "to whom (humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul." Up to 1843 his imagination was "stained" by the doctrine that the Pope was Antichrist; it was not till 1825 that he took "the first step towards giving up the Evangelical form of Christianity;" and long afterwards "certain shreds and tatters of that doctrine hung about his preaching," and was one of the causes which gained it a hearing in quarters which would otherwise have been closed against it. Even as late as 1828 Hurrell Froude could write of him: "He is a fellow that I like the more, the more I think of him; only I would give a

[1] 1747–1821. Author of the *Force of Truth; Essays on the Most Important Subjects in Religion;* and a *Bible with Explanatory Notes*, which had great vogue among Evangelicals.

few odd pence if he were not a heretic!" All this time, indeed, Newman was breaking away from Evangelicalism because, "considered as a system and in what was peculiar to itself," it had from the first failed to find a response in his own religious experience as afterwards in his parochial.[1] But within five years of the beginning of the Oxford Movement he would generally have been reckoned an Evangelical, and, unless it had been associated with some particular doctrine which he had ceased to hold, would not have disowned the name. Of Liddon on the contrary, though brought up while a child in the straitest sect of the Evangelicals, it has been written that at seventeen he was just as deeply absorbed in Dr. Pusey and his work as at twenty-seven.[2] And though this testimony may have been unconsciously coloured from later knowledge, there is no question that it became true while Liddon was still an undergraduate.

The process in Church's mind was unlike either of these. He speaks, indeed, of having taken in the religious character of Redlands "too much for any healthy sincerity." But even then he weighed the arguments addressed to him and sometimes found them wanting. "I remember," he writes, "questions arising in my thoughts as

[1] *Letters and Correspondence*, I., p. 108. Ed. 1898.

[2] Mr. Frederic Harrison, in *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 12th, 1890.

to whether we really could be so cocksure." At Wadham, though he shrank from the very pronounced Evangelical men, he "did not much care" to go to S. Mary's to hear Newman. From the first, however, he had two friends among the older men—Moberly, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, at Balliol, and Charles Marriott at Oriel, both of them men likely to draw him out of the narrow teaching and still narrower sympathies of Redlands. At the end of 1836 he went into the Schools. His First Class, he says in his MS. Recollections, was a great surprise to him. "But it was more than a surprise. It opened to me a new prospect: I had never thought much of remaining at Oxford after my degree. From most Fellowships I was shut out, having been born abroad. But now I might think of going in for one at Balliol or Oriel. And now I could dine at High Tables and go into Common Room. From this time, from the leisure following the Schools, began my closer connection with the men of the Movement—first through Marriott, and those to whom he introduced me, and then in time through Newman himself."[1] It is in this simple way that the future historian of the Oxford Movement describes how he was first gathered into it. The Oriel Fellowship which followed a year and a half later strengthened and consolidated the influence under which Church

[1] *Life and Letters*, pp. 15, 16.

had thus passed. He became Newman's friend, and to be Newman's friend was to be closely associated with the enterprise into which Newman had thrown his whole soul.

CHAPTER II.

The Oxford Movement: First Phase.

TO describe this enterprise—what it was in its inception and what it afterwards became—is to abridge, and so of necessity to injure, Church's own narrative. But his character and history cannot properly be understood by readers to whom the Oxford Movement is little more than a name, and so I have no choice but to put before them the substance of what they would do much better to read in his own words. What was it, then, that in less than the life of a single Parliament —not much more than half the life of the present Cabinet — had worked a spiritual revolution, had given men new conceptions of truth, new objects for which to live, new ideas of the position and duties which Almighty God had assigned to them? The Oxford Movement was not wholly a child of miracle. The Prayer Book existed, and so long as it was read with an honest desire to ascertain its real meaning, the High Church tradition could not die quite out. But though that tradition had survived, it had done little more. It

influenced a man here and there, but in so doing it only separated him from the mass of Churchmen. Those who thought with him were few in number, they had little communication with one another, they had not even a semblance of organisation. The character of the group—if the word can rightly be applied to it—is best seen in the "Advertisement" to *The Christian Year*. "Next to a sound rule of faith," we read, "there is nothing of so much consequence as a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion." The great object of the book is to guard those who need this discipline against the dangers incident to "times of much leisure and unbounded curiosity, when excitement of every kind is sought after with a morbid eagerness." If the purpose of a book could be divined from its effect, never surely was a preface further from the truth. As it turned out, *The Christian Year* brought to the Church not peace but a sword. It spoke indeed of "soothing," but on men to whom the very idea of the Catholic Church was new its effect was to rouse and stimulate. Keble's own hereditary surroundings, indeed, were all in keeping with his preface. "The Kebles," says Church, "were all of them men of the old-fashioned High Church Orthodoxy, of the Prayer Book and the Catechism—the Orthodoxy which was professed at Oxford, which was represented in London by Norris of Hackney and Joshua Watson; which valued in religion, sobriety,

reverence, and deference to authority, and in teaching, sound learning and the wisdom of the great English divines; which vehemently disliked the Evangelicals and Methodists for their poor and loose theology, their love of excitement and display, their hunting after popularity."[1] Yet, within six years of the publication of *The Christian Year*, its author had preached the sermon on "National Apostasy," had helped to begin the *Tracts for the Times*, had become, in fact, one of the chief authors of a New Reformation.

Two causes had ministered to a development in itself so unlikely. The first was the changed attitude of the Government towards the Church. Down to 1830 the State had left the Church pretty much to herself. If the Church had taken advantage of this indifference on the part of the civil power to mend her own ways, the new spirit that animated the House of Commons after the passing of the Reform Act might not have been actively hostile to her. But her only use of the opportunity had been that of the sluggard, and when the Whig Ministry came into power, with all manner of reforms, real or supposed, in their heads, the removal of ecclesiastical abuses held a front place in their plans. Among these abuses, had they been bolder and

[1] *The Oxford Movement.* Twelve years, 1833-1845. By R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L. Macmillan, 1891, p. 61.

better informed, would have been included the Irish Establishment. But this monstrous injustice was destined to live nearly forty years longer. The ministerial ideas of reform were satisfied by a Bill abolishing ten of the twenty-two Irish sees. A Disestablishment Bill would have roused the latent Protestantism of the country; a Bill to interfere with the internal constitution of the Irish Church disturbed only a small section of old-fashioned High Churchmen. But it did more than disturb them. It forced them to reconsider their theory of Church authority. So long as the State was content to walk hand in hand with the Church, there was no need to define their mutual relations. But, when the State began to attack the Church, and still more when it was seen that in doing so it could count upon popular support, Churchmen were driven to ask themselves which of the two powers had the first claim on their allegiance. The old supports were failing them. The State, from being the nursing-mother of the Church, was becoming the harshest of step-mothers. The traditional hold of the Church upon the people—so strong no further back than Queen Anne's time—had given place to active hostility. How were Churchmen to meet this double desertion? It was plain that their official defenders were wholly unequal to the burden thus suddenly thrown upon them. Their arguments had the fatal fault of being

adapted to a state of things which had already passed away. A Government, flushed with its victory in the Reform struggle, and urged by its own most ardent followers to deal with abuses in the Church in the same high-handed fashion, was not likely to be brought to a stand by Episcopal commonplaces. Thus the old-fashioned High Churchmen would in any case have been driven to explain, and in explaining to reconsider, the arguments on which they had been accustomed to found their claims.

The second cause was the presence of a very unusual personal element. Among the Fellows of Oriel past and present were three men who were destined to shape the course of the ecclesiastical history of England from 1833 until now. They were John Keble, Richard Hurrell Froude, and John Henry Newman. Keble was the eldest of the three—nine years older than Newman, and eleven years older than Froude. His career at Oxford had begun unusually early and had been marked by unusual distinction. He had been a Scholar of Corpus at fourteen, and a Fellow of Oriel at nineteen. He had taken a "Double First," and had won the Latin and English Essays in the same year. He had remained in Oxford till 1823, the year after Newman's election at Oriel, and had then made up his mind to live the life of a country clergyman—becoming in the first instance his father's curate. "He

was," says Church, "a strong Tory, and by conviction and religious temper a thorough High Churchman. But there was nothing in him to foreshadow the leader in a bold and far-reaching movement. He was absolutely without ambition. . . . He had no popular aptitudes and was very suspicious of them." Like others of the same type, he was an alarmed spectator of the growing estrangement of the State from the Church, and felt an increasing dread of the measures to which this estrangement might lead. But no more than others did he seem fitted to take part in any active conflict with the new Erastianism. He "had not many friends and was no party chief." He was to all appearances just "an old-fashioned English Churchman, with a great veneration for the Church and its Bishops, and a great dislike of Rome, Dissent, and Methodism."

But just two years before Keble left Oxford, there had matriculated at Oriel a young man who was first to give Keble a wholly new conception of life and duty, and then to impress this new conception upon the genius of Newman. Richard Hurrell Froude was Keble's pupil till he left Oxford, and went to read with him at his curacy, in the Long Vacation of 1823. The friendship thus formed was of the closest kind, and in the end the disciple counted for as much in the formation of the teacher's character as the teacher in that

of the disciple. Keble "is my fire," he wrote years afterwards, "but I may be his poker." Keble had the knowledge, the sobriety, the caution which Froude wanted, but Froude had the inspiration and the stimulating force without which Keble's powers might have remained unused. Froude's character had not been formed without severe self-discipline. "He was a man," says Church, "of great gifts, with much that was most attractive and noble; but joined with this there was originally in his character a vein of perversity and mischief, always in danger of breaking out, and with which he kept up a long and painful struggle. . . . The self-chastening, which his private papers show, is no passion or value for asceticism, but a purely moral effort after self-command and honesty of character. . . . The basis of Froude's character was a demand, which would not be put off, for what was real and thorough; an implacable scorn and hatred for what he counted shams and pretences. . . . It was as unbearable to him to pretend not to see a fallacy as soon as it was detected, as it would have been to him to arrive at the right answer of a sum or a problem by tampering with the processes." In the first instance Froude was greatly the gainer by his new experience. He needed steadying and Keble steadied him. He needed to learn many things and in Keble he found a teacher. He needed to have the "vein of perversity and

mischief" brought under control, and, as he came to know Keble well, he saw in him the pattern to which he wished to conform himself. But Froude's was too original and independent a mind to be content with being the mere copy of another. "Keble had lifted his pupil's thoughts above mere dry and unintelligent orthodoxy," and Froude repaid him for the service by imparting something of that courageous arraignment of things and persons from which Keble had shrunk. It was not enough in Froude's judgment to have a "great veneration for the Church and its Bishops, and a great dislike of Rome, Dissent, and Methodism," so long as the veneration and the dislike were alike destitute of rational foundation. Why were men to entertain either feeling? What was it in the Church of England that claimed men's devotion? What was it in the Church of Rome or in Dissent that provoked the opposite feeling?

Froude was not long in finding answers to these questions, and when found they led to far-reaching changes in his estimate of his own position and duties. He saw that the claim which the Church of England had on him had nothing to do with her connection with the State. She appealed to him as a part of the Catholic Church; consequently her character and claims could not properly be ascertained without fixing at the same time her relation to other parts of the Catholic Church. Froude

began to read history with a new curiosity. He was the first to put the Anglican Reformation in the place that properly belongs to it. Keble might have lived content with asserting the catholicity of the English Church and leaving unexplained the wide differences, alike in theory and practice, between her and the rest of Western Christendom. Froude came almost by intuition to see that the Reformation was not what the fancy of Churchmen had pictured it. Poets might sing of "Great Eliza's golden time," and, so long as they confined themselves to the secular history of her reign, there was no need to quarrel with the description. But when they went on to call it "of a pure faith the vernal prime," Froude could from the very first correct them by the evidence of plain facts. "His judgments on the Reformers are not so very different, as to the facts of the case, from what most people on all sides now agree in; and, as to their temper and theology, from what most Churchmen would now agree in. Whatever allowances may be made for the difficulties of their time, and these allowances ought to be very great, and however well they may have done parts of their work, such as the translations and adaptations of the Prayer Book, it is safe to say that the divines of the Reformation never can be again, with their confessed Calvinism, with their shifting opinions, their extravagant deference to the foreign oracles of Geneva

and Zurich, their subservience to bad men in power, the heroes and saints of Churchmen."[1]

Taking into account the difference between the two men, Church's measured and judicial condemnation is quite as damaging as Froude's wilder and less temperate words. But what was wanted at the moment was something that should arrest attention, something that should make men ask themselves whether the religion in which they had been brought up, the religion which had made heroes and saints of the Reformers, might not after all be untrue. When the fight is over and the idols are in the dust, there is time to correct and qualify hasty judgments, to put ourselves into the places of those we are criticising, and to think more of what they have helped us to retain and less of what they have caused us to lose. But, when the fight is going on, or rather when it is just beginning, men have to take a shorter way to their end. "In the hands of the most self-restrained and considerate of its leaders," says Church, "the Movement must anyhow have provoked strong opposition and given great offence. But Froude's strong language gave it a needless exasperation." Exasperation, no doubt, but whether needless or not is another question. It may be that nothing short of strong language would have been effectual. "Froude himself," says Isaac Williams, "used to defend his startling way of putting facts and

[1] *Oxford Movement*, p. 39.

arguments on the ground that it was the only way to rouse people and get their attention." Indeed his thoughts were as much in advance of his contemporaries as his words. He "has written a sermon on the duty of contemplating a time when the law of the land shall cease to be co-extensive with the law of the Church." He sees in the irreligious condition of great towns an opening for colleges of unmarried Priests, which "would certainly be the cheapest possible way of providing effectually for the spiritual wants of a large population." He had divined long before Newman that the difference between the Anglican and the Roman view of the Eucharist is as nothing compared with the difference between the Anglican and the Protestant view. "Why," he asks, "publish poor Bishop Cosin's Tract on Transubstantiation? Surely no member of the Church of England is in any danger of overrating the miracle of the Eucharist." He urged Keble to alter "Not in the hands" into "As in the hands," thirty years before the change was actually made.

In 1826 Froude was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel. "We were in grave deliberation," writes Newman, "till near two this morning, and then went to bed. Froude is one of the acutest and clearest and deepest men in the memory of man." This is the first mention in Newman's correspondence of the friend to

whom he was afterwards to write, "It is quite impossible that, some way or other, you are not destined to be the instrument of God's purposes. Though I saw the earth cleave and you fall in, or heaven open and a chariot appear, I should say just the same. God has ten thousand posts of service. You might be of use in the central elemental fire; you might be of use in the depths of the sea." Froude's influence on Newman was as great as his influence upon Keble. But it acted on a very different temperament and so led to a far more important result. Keble was greatly changed by his intercourse with Froude, but even Froude could not make him a leader of men. He could and did make him an admirable lieutenant, devoted, self-sacrificing, undaunted. But the strength that was needed to bring forth the Oxford Movement, the genius that was to give it shape and direction, had yet to be found. Froude inspired Newman as he had inspired Keble, and to inspire Newman was to set a new force in motion. The discontent of Keble with things as they were, the clear vision of what they might be that possessed Froude, became, when Newman joined them, a determination to make them what they ought to be. How this third element came to be added has been told in the *Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ*. In that wonderful autobiography we read with what feelings Newman regarded the apathy of some,

the "imbecile alarm" of others, the decay of the true principles of Churchmanship, the "distraction in the councils of the clergy," and compared "with the Establishment thus divided and threatened, thus ignorant of its true strength," that "fresh and vigorous power" to which the preparation of his *History of the Arians* had introduced him. In the acts of the great Church of Alexandria—the Church in which Athanasius was Bishop and the battle with Arianism was first fought—"in her triumphant zeal on behalf of that Primeval Mystery to which I had had so great a devotion from my youth, I recognised the movement of my spiritual mother. *Incessu patuit Dea.* The self-conquest of her ascetics, the patience of her Martyrs, the irresistible determination of her Bishops, the joyous swing of her advance, both exalted and abashed me. I said to myself, 'Look on this picture and on that;' I felt affection for my own Church, but not tenderness; I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity. . . . I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination; still I ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ. She was nothing unless

she was this. She must be dealt with strongly or she would be lost. There was need of a second Reformation."[1]

Here we see how Froude had acted upon Newman. "It is difficult," says the Cardinal, "to enumerate the precise additions to my theological creed which I derived from a friend to whom I owe so much." But those that he does enumerate tell their own story. "He made me look with admiration towards the Church of Rome,[2] and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence."

It was in this frame of mind that Newman left England in Froude's company, in December, 1832. But travel brought no change. Throughout the journey England and England alone was in his thoughts. His stay in Rome is only memorable to him because it was there that they began the *Lyra Apostolica*. "The motto," he says, "shows the feeling of both Froude and myself at the time: we borrowed from M. Bunsen a Homer, and Froude chose the words in which Achilles, on returning to

[1] *Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ*, pp. 31, 32. Ed. 1890.

[2] It must be remembered that this admiration related chiefly to the authoritative temper of the Church of Rome and was consistent—in Froude always and in Newman at that time—with strong dislike to the ends to which her policy was directed.

the battle, says, 'You shall know the difference now that I am back again.'" And now the passion to get back again took possession of him. "Especially when I was left by myself, the thought came upon me that deliverance is wrought not by the many but by the few, not by bodies but by persons." When he took leave of Monsignore Wiseman[1] he said that he and Froude had a work to do in England. In Sicily the presentiment grew stronger. It sustained him through weeks of waiting for a ship and through a second illness at Lyons on the way home. On Tuesday, July 9, 1833, he reached England, and on the following Sunday, July 14, "Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of *National Apostasy*. I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious Movement of 1833."

The indispensable elements of a great religious change were thus at last brought together—the urgent need and the men who could meet it. The need was patent, for the Church of England was fast settling down into what J. A. Froude long afterwards called a condition of "moral health." "It did not instruct us in mysteries, it did not teach us to make religion a special object of our thoughts, it taught us to use religion as a

[1] Afterwards Cardinal, and first Archbishop of Westminster.

light by which to see our way along the road of duty." The men were two Fellows of a College and a country curate. They were seemingly quite unfitted for the task they were setting themselves, but Newman was one of them; consequently they were strong in the possession of a faith that took no account of obstacles. "It was time to move," says Newman, "if there was to be any moving at all." And moving there soon was. Within a few days of the Assize Sermon, Newman was able to write to Keble that an Association for the Defence of the Church was already "a fact not a project," though Froude and himself were as yet the only two members. After the meeting at Hadleigh others came in, and in August Newman embarked on a bolder venture and brought out the first number of *Tracts for the Times*. From that time the idea of an Association languished and the Tracts became the chief instrument of the propaganda. A difference of opinion, which was to grow wider as time went on, was thus early disclosed. The Associationists came to "abominate" the Tracts; the authors of the Tracts to dread the Association. But for some time each man worked at what, and in whatever way, happened to please him most, with the result that the Movement in this stage enlisted many who afterwards fell away from it. The Association ended in two addresses to the Archbishop of Canterbury, one of which was signed by some

7000 of the clergy, and the other by 230,000 heads of families. Documents which found supporters in numbers like these necessarily committed those who signed them to little more than the expression of a widely-distributed uneasiness. To some these addresses seemed the turn of the tide, and the two men who in these early days were generally regarded as the real leaders in the effort to revive confidence in the Church as a Divine institution—Hugh James Rose and William Palmer—would possibly have been satisfied with what had been done and what they might hope to do on the same lines. But the three Oriel men "were bolder and keener spirits; they pierced more deeply into the real condition and prospects of the times; they were not disposed to smooth over and excuse what they thought hollow and untrue, to put up with decorous compromises and half measures, to be patient towards apathy, negligence or insolence."[1] They had in them "the temper of warfare." Tracts, Associations, Addresses for a time went on side by side. They had a common purpose, and it was left to time to decide which weapon would serve that purpose best. Time was not long in giving a decision. The "Oxford Tracts" soon became the authoritative expression of the Oxford Movement. Nothing could seem less fitted for the work to be done. Tracts had come to be associated with

[1] *Oxford Movement*, p. 96.

such titles as those immortalised by Thackeray, "The Washerwoman of Finchley Common," and "The Fleshpots Broken; or, The Converted Cannibal." "But the ring of these early Tracts was something very different from anything of the kind then known in England. They were clear, brief, stern appeals to conscience and reason, sparing of words, utterly without rhetoric, intense in purpose. They were like the short, sharp, rapid utterances of men in pain and danger and pressing emergency."

The heading of No. I. struck a note long unfamiliar to the clergy. It was addressed to "the Presbyters and Deacons of the Church of CHRIST in England ordained thereunto by the HOLY GHOST and the Imposition of Hands." The opening words were equally unfamiliar—"Speak I must; for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them." The substance was new. The writer asks the clergy *on what*, if the Church is deprived of its "temporal honours and substance," they will rest their claim to the respect and attention of their flocks. "There are some who rest their Divine mission on their own unsupported assertion; others who rest it upon their popularity; others on their success; and others who rest it upon their temporal distinctions. This last case has, perhaps, been too much our own. I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—*our Apostolical Descent.*"

Other Tracts followed, and by the end of 1834 forty-six had been published. They were received with eager sympathy by some, with "surprise, dismay, ridicule and indignation" by others. But they were talked about, and they made their way. In Oxford itself they were reinforced by Newman's famous sermons at the four o'clock services at S. Mary's. "Without those sermons the Movement might never have gone on, certainly it would never have been what it was." They supplied the moral quality without which no religious movement can have lasting success. They ministered to that discipline of character which should be the aim of the preacher everywhere, but, in fact, is only the aim of a few at any time, and in the thirties was the aim of hardly any one. And they did this, not only by the force of their moral purpose, but by the keenness of their intellectual insight. "While men were reading and talking about the Tracts, they were hearing the sermons; and in the sermons they heard the living meaning and reason and bearing of the Tracts, their ethical affinities, their moral standard. The sermons created a moral atmosphere, in which men judged the questions in debate. It was no dry theological correctness and completeness which were sought for. No love of privilege, no formal hierarchical claims urged on the writers. What they thought in danger, what they aspired to revive and save, was the very

life of religion, the truth and substance of all that makes it the hope of human society." [1]

For the next five years the record of the Movement was one of steady and, at times, triumphal progress. In 1835 Dr. Pusey became "fully associated" with it, and at once gave it a position, both in and out of Oxford, which it could not otherwise have obtained. "Mr. Froude, or Mr. R. Wilberforce, or Mr. Newman"—it is the Cardinal himself who says it—"were but individuals; . . . but Dr. Pusey was, to use the common expression, a host in himself; he was able to give a name, a form, and a personality to what was without him a sort of mob." [2] In one sense, indeed, Pusey was as indispensable to the Movement as Newman himself. He was not its author. The gifts, moral and intellectual, which inspired and shaped it in the cradle were not his. Outside a narrow circle, he would probably have done nothing if Newman had not shown him the way. But there came a time when, without him, the Movement might have come to an end altogether. From 1839 onwards his mental history presented a growing contrast to that of Newman. "He was a man of large designs; he had a hopeful, sanguine mind; he had no fear of others." So far, it may be said, he was only Newman over again. But "he was haunted by no intellectual per-

[1] *Oxford Movement*, p. 114. [2] *Apologia*, p. 137.

plexities. . . . If confidence in his position is (as it is) a first essential in the leader of a party, Dr. Pusey had it. The most remarkable instance of this was his statement in one of his subsequent defences of the Movement, when, too, it had advanced a considerable way in the direction of Rome, that among its hopeful peculiarities was its 'stationariness.' He made it in good faith; it was his subjective view of it."[1] In 1845, and still more in 1851, this subjective view became the sheet-anchor of the Movement, the one conspicuous force which secured its continuance. He alone, perhaps, among its leaders, "never for an instant wavered or doubted about the position of the English Church."[2] What is even more remarkable in him is that he never wavered in his attitude towards the Roman Church. Newman, Keble, even Hurrell Froude, had moments of active hostility to Rome, Pusey never. He was attacked from all quarters because he would not render railing for railing, but he remained immovable. Often as he had to take part in the Roman controversy, he never forgot the debt of Christendom to Rome, or how much those who are not her children have to learn from her. His adhesion to the Movement at once gave a new character to the Tracts. They ceased to be popular; their work in rousing the clergy had been done; it remained for them to supply the

[1] *Apologia*, p. 138. [2] *Oxford Movement*, p. 118.

learning on which the reformation which their authors had in view must eventually rest. Pusey's own Tract on Baptism was the first example of the new departure. It is permissible to suspect that from then till the appearance of No. 90 the Tracts were only read by professed theologians, or by controversialists seeking matter of offence. But it was by students that Pusey desired to be read. It was for them that he began the *Library of the Fathers*, for them that he nursed the dream of making Oxford, with its "magnificent foundations," a rival of the Port-Royalists and the Benedictines who had "splendidly redeemed the Church of France in otherwise evil days from the reproach of idleness and self-indulgence." This was his forecast of the future. "The last fear that occurred to him," says Church, with his keen eye for the inner sadness of the situation, "was that within ten years a hopeless rift, not of affection, but of conviction, would have run through that company of friends, and parted irrevocably their course and work in life."

For the moment, however, all went well. The separation between the authors of the Movement and the University authorities was slow in making itself felt. They were at one upon Undergraduate subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, at one in distrust of Dr. Hampden. There was opposition, of course, bitter and unscrupulous opposition,

but down to 1839 it was increasingly true that the views of the writers of the Tracts were gaining ground every day. In an article in the *British Critic* for April, 1839, Newman establishes this by quotations from opponents. The Movement has been "the most rapid growth of the hotbed of these evil days." It is "having the effect of rendering all other distinctions obsolete, and of severing the religious community into two portions, fundamentally and vehemently opposed one to the other." These doctrines have "already made fearful progress." The "hope that their influence would fail is now dead." There are "few towns of note to which they have not extended. They are preached in small towns in Scotland; they obtain in Elginshire, six hundred miles north of London. I found them myself in the heart of the Highlands of Scotland."[1] Well might Newman derive keen satisfaction from such testimonies as these. When in the whole history of the Church had so much been done in six years? Nor was this his only cause of rejoicing: he was thoroughly content with his own position. He believed that, with the principles of the Movement, the very existence of the English Church was bound up. It might live by them or die without them, but, no matter which of these choices

[1] Three years later Sydney Smith wrote of "The Puseyites"—"Nothing so remarkable in England as the progress of these foolish people."

it might make, the principles themselves were true.

Nor had Newman any doubt of his new power of making their truth recognised. The Anglican position might not yet be clear, but it was the end and object of the Movement to make it clear. Leave us alone, give us but a fair field and no favour, and we are content to be judged by the result. Years afterwards his feeling at this time was thus described by himself: "In the spring of 1839 my position in the Anglican Church was at its height. I had supreme confidence in my controversial *status*, and I had a great and still growing success in recommending it to others. . . . I claimed in behalf of who would that he might hold in the Anglican Church a comprecation with the Saints with Bramhall; and the Mass, all but Transubstantiation, with Andrewes; or with Hooker that Transubstantiation itself is not a point for Churches to part communion upon; or with Hammond that a General Council truly such, never did, never shall, err in a matter of faith; or with Bull that man lost inward grace by the fall; or with Thorndike that penance is a propitiation for post-baptismal sin; or with Pearson that the all-powerful Name of Jesus is no otherwise given than in the Catholic Church. 'Two can play at that,' was often in my mouth, when men of Protestant sentiments appealed to the Articles, Homilies, or Reformers; in the sense that if

they had a right to speak loud, I had both the liberty and the means of giving them tit for tat. I thought that the Anglican Church had been tyrannised over by a party, and I aimed at bringing into effect the promise contained in the motto to the *Lyra*, 'They shall know the difference now.' I only asked to be allowed to show them the difference."[1]

[1] This is how it is given in *The Oxford Movement*, p. 236. In the *Apologia*, ed. 1890, p. 94, there are some slight verbal differences.

CHAPTER III.

The Oxford Movement: Second Phase.

IT was at this highest point of triumph and satisfaction—the happiest moment of the Movement's history, when sixty thousand of the Tracts had been sold in one year—that Church became one of "those dear friends resident in Oxford," of whom Newman wrote long afterwards that they "did so much to comfort and uphold me by their patient, tender kindness and their zealous services in my behalf." From 1839 to 1845 Church was in the very heart of all that went on. Unfortunately his most intimate friends were, like himself, resident in Oxford, and this circumstance has deprived us of much material that would now be of the utmost interest. "Constant intercourse," says his daughter, "took the place of letter-writing." The loss is made up in part by the history of those years which he has left us in *The Oxford Movement*. But it is made up only in part. We miss the small details which are in place in a letter but not in a history, and we miss Church's own name. We can but guess at the part he played in a

society which is best described in his own words: "The scene of this new movement was as like as it could be in our modern world to a Greek πόλις, or an Italian self-centred city of the Middle Ages." It was "a place where everyone knew his neighbour and measured him and was more or less friendly or repellent; where the customs of life brought men together every day and all day, in converse or discussion, and where every fresh statement or every new step taken furnished endless material for speculation or debate, in common-rooms or in the afternoon walk." Feelings were keen in so limited an area and factions were quickly formed. "Men struck blows and loved and hated in those days as they hardly did on the wider stage of London politics or general religious controversy, and so Oxford became a kind of image of what Florence was in the days of Savonarola, with its nicknames, Puseyites, and Neomaniacs, and High and Dry, counterparts to the *Piagnoni* and *Arrabiati* of the older strife." Nor did the resemblance stop here. This little society had its own courts and its own methods of bringing offenders to the bar. If the leaders of the Movement had been beneficed in London they might have preached and written without molestation. The machinery of the Ecclesiastical Courts was then too rusty and too cumbrous to be easily set in motion. But in Oxford it was possible to censure and silence

opponents, and in the end these expedients were freely employed.

In 1839, however, these things were hardly dreamt of. The authorities were getting to hate the Movement more and more, but they had not seen their way to attack it except by the petty methods of *espionnage* and delation. The Tractarian position was still too well-guarded to be openly assailed. The course of events was soon to arm its adversaries with more effective weapons. In 1839 the controversy with Rome was already more than two years old. It had been forced upon Newman alike by Protestant and Roman Catholic assailants. As the Movement gathered strength and volume its main positions, the existence of an ecclesiastical authority and the duty of submission to it, were challenged by the one on the ground that no such authority existed, by the other on the ground that its true seat was at Rome. From 1833 to 1836 Newman had been meeting the former challenge, and the simple appeal to antiquity had furnished him with the means of doing this. Protestantism might call itself the religion of the Bible if it chose, but it could not possibly maintain that it was the religion of the Early Church. Could the Roman assault be met in the same way? Was it equally plain that the Early Church knew nothing of the Papal Claims? In the first instance Newman was just as confident upon this point as upon the

other. The Church of Rome and the Church of England "were two great portions of the divided Church, each with its realities of history and fact and character," its special excellencies and its special sins. But the Church of England "was in possession, with its own call and its immense work to do, and striving to do it. Whatever the Church of Rome was abroad, it was here an intruder and a disturber." This argument, Church goes on, "was new in its moderation and reasonable caution, in its abstention from insult and vague abuse, in its recognition of the *primâ facie* strength of much of the Roman case, in its fearless attempt, in defiance of the deepest prejudices, to face the facts and conditions of the question." All the same it was an argument that had its own dangers. So long as Rome was held to be all bad there was no temptation to have anything to say to her. But when it became the duty of the controversialist to see her as she was, with her lights as well as her shadows, her virtues as well as her defects, it was impossible to set a limit to the gradual conversion of appreciation into admiration. A wider knowledge of Christian antiquity brought to light the fact that in some, at least, of the features in which we differed from Rome we differed from antiquity also; that if a Christian of the fourth century were to rise from the grave and go first into a Roman and then into an Anglican church he would feel more at

home at the Mass of the one, than at the Communion Service—as it was in the thirties—of the other; that upon miracles or celibacy or the place of the Eucharist in Christian worship he would hear the teaching he was familiar with from the Roman rather than from the Anglican preacher. For Newman and the older generation of the Movement, such discoveries had no terrors. They had undertaken to supply what was wanting in the English Church and as yet they were fully satisfied with the progress they had already made.

But in May, 1839, there occurs a passage in one of Newman's letters, which in the light of after events, seems like Gehazi's cloud. "The only real news," he writes, "is the accession of Ward of Balliol to good principles. It is a very important accession. He is a man I know very little of, but whom I cannot help liking very much." The recruit, whose arrival was thus welcomed, brought into the Movement a very strong and remarkable personality. Into whatever company of men William George Ward had entered, its composite character and action could not have remained what it had been without him. His mental history had been quite unlike that of any one of the leaders whom he found in possession of the field. Newman had begun as an Evangelical, Keble and Froude as old-fashioned High Churchmen. Ward had first been in-

fluenced by Bentham and John Mill. "Alike in method and *ethos* they were singularly attractive to him, and left evident traces on his mind. . . . Mistiness was to him the greatest of intellectual trials, and dialectics the keenest of pleasures. And those who canonised mistiness as all one with religious mystery, and looked askance at argumentative discussion as savouring of rationalism, were at all times his natural enemies. Mill and Bentham represented the completest imaginable antithesis to such a spirit."[1]

Long afterwards, when his attitude towards religion had completely changed, he wrote in praise of Bentham's "boldness," of Mill's "earnestness and single-mindedness," of his "manifest devotion to truth," and of his "susceptibility to every breath of reason." But though this logical clearness delighted Ward's intellect, it left his religious instinct unsatisfied. This want was supplied in the first instance by Arnold, whose influence was transmitted to Ward through his chief Balliol friends, Oakeley and Clough. He found in Arnold something quite unlike the ordinary respect for conventions which to so many people stands in the place of religion. For years his feelings had been "oppressed and tortured by this heavy, unspiritual, unelastic, prosaic, unfeeling, unmeaning Protestant spirit," and his ears

[1] *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*, by Wilfrid Ward, p. 61.

"stunned with the din of self-laudation, with the words 'pure and apostolical,' 'evangelical truth and apostolical order,' and the like most miserable watchwords." The moral side of religion, the placing the glory of GOD beyond and above all other objects, the extension of the religious spirit to all the actions of life, the recognition of worldliness as a more dangerous adversary than even the flesh and the devil—all these things Ward found in Arnold and for a time they contented him. Arnold's teaching gave him the two things he most wanted—intellectual candour and moral discipline.

But his intellectual candour soon landed him in difficulties for which Arnold had no answer. Free inquiry and private judgment seemed to Ward to lead, at best, to uncertainty. Arnold found in Scripture so much dogmatic belief as he wanted. So did the Socinians whom Arnold would not admit to be Christians. And how about the previous question, the inspiration of Scripture? How about the proofs of revelation? How about the existence of GOD Himself? To these questions Ward could only say that, if faith must be founded on inquiry, "five times the amount of a man's natural life might qualify a person endowed with extraordinary genius to have some faint notion on which side truth lies."[1] Thus he was left with his belief in Arnold's ethical teaching unshaken, but resting on no intellectual

[1] Ward in *British Critic*, vol. xxxiii, p. 214.

principle. The end to which this process would naturally have led him in the first instance was the same as that which he ultimately reached. Ward had none of that traditional dread of Rome which weighed so strongly on Newman. On the contrary, he had always been drawn to Roman services, which Newman had not attended even when he was abroad. He was familiar with the Roman breviary, of which at this date Newman knew nothing. He liked the liturgical and disciplinary sides of the Roman Church, and had learned, even earlier than Hurrell Froude, to hate the Reformers. Everything pointed, therefore, to his reception into the Roman Church when he found himself no longer in agreement with Arnold. But a fresh intellectual influence got hold of him and for a time gave a new direction to his thoughts. For some time he had steadily refused so much as to hear Newman preach. But "at last one of his friends laid a plot against him. He invited him to take a walk and brought him to the porch of S. Mary's precisely as the clock was striking five. 'Now, Ward,' said he, 'Newman is at this moment going up into his pulpit. Why should you not enter and hear him once? It can do you no harm. If you don't like the preaching you need not go a second time, but do hear and judge what the thing is like.' By the will of GOD Ward was persuaded and he

entered the church. . . . That sermon changed his whole life."[1] Not at once however. In 1839 Ward was a diligent attendant in Adam de Brome's Chapel, where Newman delivered the lectures which were afterwards published under the title *Romanism and Popular Protestantism*. But he still listened as a critic, not as a disciple. "His admiration of the power shown in the lectures," says Dean Goulburn, "was only qualified by his indignant repudiation of their conclusions." What finally decided him to join the Oxford Movement was the publication of Hurrell Froude's *Remains*. The influence which had done so much to shape the course of Newman and Keble was to exert an equal force on Ward. But, though the force was equal, the direction was different. "Ward," said Cardinal Newman long afterwards, "was never a High Churchman, never a Tractarian, never a Puseyite, never a Newmanite."

Mr. Wilfrid Ward has described with great clearness the state of his father's mind in 1838. "Tractarianism did not supply him with reluctant conclusions in favour of Rome; on the contrary, it stopped short his conclusions, and made him an Anglican. He had no distinctive affection for the Anglican Church. He disliked it in the present, and he knew nothing of its past. The study of primitive times was un-

[1] *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 80, quoted from notes by the late Professor Bonamy Price.

congenial to his unhistorical mind. Nor had he any acquaintance with the divines of the seventeenth century. . . . The existing Roman Church was the avowed object of his admiration. He was driven by the inconsistency of Anglicanism, and the sceptical tendency of private judgment, to admire the most thorough and consistent scheme attainable of authoritative teaching." [1]

But on the road he met Newman, and for some years Newman was able to keep him in the Church of England. For the time, he became to Ward the very thing he was in search of—a living authority. Although, therefore, Ward had brought into the Movement a new tendency, it was a tendency which Newman was at first able to control. "He kept before their minds continually," says Church, speaking of Newman's influence on Ward and his friends, "those difficulties of fact which stood in the way of their absolute and peremptory conclusions, and of which they were not much inclined to take account. He insisted on those features, neither few nor unimportant nor hard to see, which proved the continuity of the English Church with the Church Universal. Sharing their sense of anomaly in the Anglican theory and position, he pointed out with his own force and insight that anomaly was not in England

[1] *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 141.

only, but everywhere. There was much to regret, there was much to improve, there were many unwelcome and dangerous truths, *invidiosi veri*, to be told and defended at any cost. But patience, as well as honesty and courage, was a Christian virtue ; and they who had received their Christianity at the hands of the English Church had duties towards it from which neither dissatisfaction nor the idea of something better could absolve them. *Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna* is the motto for every one whose lot is cast in any portion of CHRIST'S Church. And as long as he could speak with this conviction the strongest of them (Ward and his friends) could not break away from his restraint." [1] There could be no better testimony to the force and character of the Movement than that it had proved strong enough to arrest on his way to Rome a man of such devotion and ability as Ward, and to retain, or rather replant, him in the Church of England.

But the time when Newman could no longer speak with this conviction was already drawing near. There is something strangely pathetic in the way in which in the *Apologia* he lingers over the closing days of his conscious and convinced Anglicanism : "The Long Vacation of 1839 began early. There had been a great many visitors to Oxford from Easter to Commemoration ; and Dr. Pusey and myself had

[1] *Oxford Movement*, pp. 208, 209.

attracted attention more, I think, than in any former year. I had put away from me the controversy with Rome for more than two years. In my parochial sermons the subject had never been introduced: there had been nothing for two years, either in my Tracts or in the *British Critic*, of a polemical character. I was returning, for the vacation, to the course of reading which I had many years before chosen as especially my own. I have no reason to suppose that the thoughts of Rome came across my mind at all."[1]

The first hint of coming change occurs in a letter to Frederick Rogers, afterwards Lord Blachford, on September 22nd. "Since I wrote to you (just one week earlier) I have had the first real hit from Romanism which has happened to me." Dr. Wiseman had written an article in the *Dublin Review* on the Donatists. Newman had read it and had not thought much of it. But a friend pointed out the "palmary words" of S. Augustine, which were contained in one of the extracts made in the review, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* "He repeated these words," says Newman, "again and again, and when he was gone they kept ringing in my ears. . . . By these great words of the ancient father the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverised." This is how the incident appeared to him five-and-twenty years later. At the time it

[1] *Apologia*, p. 208.

seemed less serious, but still serious enough to disturb him. "It does certainly come upon one," he goes on in the letter just quoted, "that we are not at the bottom of things." And a month later he told Henry Wilberforce that, though he felt confident that when he returned to his rooms—the two were walking in the New Forest—and was able fully and calmly to consider the whole matter an answer would present itself, still, a vista had been opened before him, to the end of which he did not see.

Another letter to Rogers shows that he was already casting about for some secondary justification of the Anglican position. He hopes to find S. Augustine "agreeing that grace may be given in a schismatical Church," and refers with satisfaction to a Romanist admission that the *bona fide* adherents of an Anti-Pope are "virtually in communion with the centre of unity." This change from confidence to uneasiness had its counterpart outside. On his return to Oxford he found that the Heads of Houses were "getting more and more uneasy," that the Bishops were less favourable than formerly, and that he himself was beginning to doubt whether "any religious body is strong enough to withstand the league of evil but the Roman Church."

It was at this junction that Ward and his friends came to exert so decisive an influence on the fortunes of the Movement. Had the

University and the Bishops left things alone, Newman's alarm might have disappeared in thankfulness at "the wonderful way in which the waters are rising here," *i.e.*, in Oxford. But these rising waters brought their own difficulties. The new adherents of the Movement were asking whether the doctrine of the Church of which Athanasius and Augustine were members really lived and spoke in the Thirty-nine Articles. "Did it? Yes, it did; that is what I maintained; it did in substance, in a true sense." The old Catholic truth "was there, but this must be shown." For to show it was a matter of life and death, not to Newman only, but to Ward and those whom Ward represented. Unless the Movement was to go to pieces, the Articles must be shown to be patient of a Catholic sense.

This was the origin and purpose of Tract No. 90. Newman put no new meaning on the Articles; he merely limited their meaning to that which the words necessarily conveyed. He pointed out that to condemn the Romish doctrine of purgatory is not to condemn the patristic doctrine of purgatory, any more than to condemn the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith is to condemn the Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith. History and Christian charity alike demand that theological anathemas shall be construed in the narrowest sense that their words will

bear. To-day this is regarded as plain common sense; it was accounted pestilent heresy in 1841.

CHAPTER IV.

"Nobis Procuratoribus non Placet."

WITH the publication of Tract 90, the Movement entered upon a period of excited conflict. It began with a protest addressed to the Editor of the Tracts and signed by Four Senior Tutors of Oxford Colleges. This was followed by a meeting of the Heads of Houses, at which, though they knew that Newman was preparing an explanation, they thought it wiser, instead of waiting for it, to declare that No. 90 "evaded rather than explained the Articles and that to sign them in the sense the writer suggested was 'inconsistent with the observance of the statutes.'" The Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Bagot, felt obliged to say something and anxious to say as little as possible. Accordingly, after a long correspondence, the two came to what Newman describes as "a very fair bargin." He was to write a letter making public the Bishop's wish that the Tracts should be discontinued, and his opinion that Tract 90 is "objectionable and may tend to disturb the peace and tranquility of the Church." As this censure exactly ex-

pressed Newman's object in writing the Tract, he could not and did not find any fault with it. None of the Tracts had been intended to preach peace where there was no peace, and their purpose of creating discontent with the state of the Church of England had been answered. The Bishop had in no way confirmed the censure of the Heads of Houses, and the attempt to make Newman's position in the University untenable had failed. Even now, if the Bishops could have kept silent on matters on which from their position and training they were wholly unqualified to speak, and, even more perhaps, if Newman could have kept Ward silent, all might have gone well. The division within the Movement had for the time been healed. In presence of the enemy the Tractarians had come into line.

"William Palmer [1] (Worcester)," says Church, in one of the few letters he had occasion to write about Oxford matters, "as soon as the row began, wrote a very kind letter, speaking of No. 90 as the *most valuable* that has appeared, as likely to break down traditionary interpretations and lead to greater agreement in essentials and toleration of Catholic opinions." Even Dr. Hook expressed "approval and concurrence." Pusey seems not to have liked the Tract at first, but before long came to see that,

[1] Author of *Origines Liturgicae* (1832), and of *A Treatise on the Church of Christ* (1838). See Church's *Oxford Movement*, p. 186.

though it would be abused, its main principles would be adopted. Newman's letter to Dr. Jelf, containing the explanation for which the Heads had refused to wait, had proved that much support could be found for the "objectionable" Tract in recognised Anglican authorities, and had also shown how far the writer still was from Rome.

The Bishop of Oxford had expressed his entire satisfaction and gratification with Newman's letter to himself, and had assured him that he would "never regret having written it." As a result of all this, Newman found himself at Littlemore in the summer of 1841 without any anxiety on his mind. "I had determined," he says, "to put aside all controversy, and I set myself down to my translation of S. Athanasius. But between July and November I received three blows which broke me." The first was that he found in the Arian controversy the very same phenomenon, in a far bolder shape, that he had found in the Monophysite. "I saw clearly that in the history of Arianism, the pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome was what it now was." In different circumstances this blow might have been got over as the earlier one had been. But, just as he was in "the misery of this new unsettlement," the Bishops began to charge against the Tracts. The understanding on which the publication had been discontinued

was disregarded, and for three years the enormity of what Newman had written was the theme of every Episcopal utterance. Nor were the Bishops content with Charges. The Bishop of Winchester refused Priest's Orders to Keble's curate because he wished to leave any Presence in the Eucharist, except to the faithful receiver, an open question. The Bishop of London rejected a man "for holding (1) any sacrifice in the Eucharist; (2) the Real Presence; (3) that there is a grace in Ordination." Well might one of their number confess that "when he was appointed Bishop he had not read a word of theology, but since that he had begun studying Scott's Bible."[1] Unhappily, ignorance is a great provocative of speech, and the Bishops went on for three whole years delivering Charges which showed that they knew nothing of the great Anglican Divines and very little of the Anglican Prayer Book. "I recognised it," says Newman, "as a condemnation; it was the only one in their power."

But the Episcopate had not exhausted their weapons of offence. In the autumn of 1841, under the provisions of a special Act of Parliament, the Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated a Bishop of Jerusalem and conferred on him "spiritual jurisdiction over the ministers of British congregations of the United Church of England and Ireland and

[1] *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*, vol. ii., p. 340. Ed. 1898.

over such other Protestant congregations as may be desirous of placing themselves under his authority." "Now here," writes Newman in the *Apologia*, "at the very time that the Anglican Bishops were directing their censure upon me for avowing an approach to the Catholic Church not closer than I believed the Anglican formularies would allow, they were on the other fraternising, by their act or by their sufferance, with Protestant bodies, and allowing them to put themselves under an Anglican Bishop, without any renunciation of their errors or regard to the due reception of Baptism or Confirmation; while there was very great reason to suppose that the said Bishop was intended to make converts from the Orthodox Greeks, and the schismatical Oriental bodies, by means of the influence of England. This was the third blow which finally shattered my faith in the Anglican Church." And yet even this blow might not have had the effect which Cardinal Newman here attributes to it, if the Oxford authorities had not shown themselves as hostile to the Anglican as to the Romanising side of the Movement. Their attack upon Pusey, in 1843, was quite as bitter as their attack upon Ward in 1845.

On the 24th of May in the former year Pusey preached a sermon on the Eucharist, in which, says Church, "he spoke of it as a disciple of Andrewes and Bramhall would speak of it;

it was a High Anglican sermon, full, after the example of the Homilies, Jeremy Taylor, and devotional writers like George Herbert and Bishop Ken, of the fervent language of the Fathers ; and that was all. Beyond this it did not go ; its phraseology was strictly within Anglican limits." But, though it did not go beyond High Anglicanism, it went a great deal beyond the Heads. Probably, indeed, few of them had read it ; the collocation of the subject and the preacher was enough for the rest. Pusey preaching on the LORD'S Supper must be a Papist in intention ; if he did not appear to be one in fact that only made him more dangerous. Dr. Faussett, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, "delated" the sermon to the Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor appointed six Doctors of Divinity to examine it, one of them being Dr. Faussett, the accuser. Dr. Pusey asked for a hearing but received no answer. The six Doctors met, and, it is to be supposed, deliberated. But no offending passages were cited, no accusation of heresy was ever formulated, no reasons for the action of the Doctors were ever given. Without explanation, without even a notification to the University, Dr. Pusey was suspended from preaching before the University for two years.

It is difficult, at this distance of time, and after the complete change that has passed over Oxford, to call up the feelings which censures by the University authorities then excited.

We have to remind ourselves that, though the Movement had already spread far beyond Oxford, it still, in a very special sense, belonged to Oxford. There was its author and leader, there were all his lieutenants, there its early triumphs had heen won. The regeneration of Oxford had been from the first one of its chiefest objects. Before Pusey, in particular, had risen "the vision of a revived great Christian University, roused and quickened to a sense of its powers and responsibilities." Roused and quickened Oxford had been, but with what result? The condemnation of Mr. Newman and the suspension of Dr. Pusey. And, if the eye turned from the authorities of the University to the authorities of the Church, the prospect was no more encouraging. "I do so despair of the Church of England," wrote Newman in this very year, "and am so evidently cast off by her." This we can hardly doubt was precisely the feeling which the authorities wished to create in his mind and there were no means too base for adoption provided that they answered the purpose.

Another consequence of this step which Newman foresaw as possible, had in the end a still more disturbing effect on him. It might, he thought, "tend to alienate still more from the Church persons of whose attachment to it there is already cause to be suspicious." To be "suspicious" of Mr. W. G. Ward's attachment to the English Church

was already indeed to stop far short of the conclusion which facts justified. His quarrel with the Articles went far deeper than Newman's. It "was not about the Sacraments, nor about their language on alleged Roman errors, but about the doctrine of grace, the relation of the soul of man to the law, the forgiveness, the holiness of GOD—the doctrine, that is, in all its bearings, of justification."

In the statements of the Articles on these points Newman "found nothing but what was perfectly capable of a sound and true meaning." Ward, on the contrary, read the Lutheran theory in or into all of them, and in its "abstract nature and necessary tendency" that theory sank, he thought, "below atheism itself." It is difficult to understand how, with these views, Ward remained so long in the Church of England. Probably he would have been hard put to it if he had tried to explain his own position. Devotion to Newman goes a long way, no doubt, to account for it, and the rest must be set down to his theory that, though no longer believing the Church of England to be a part of the Catholic body, he might remain on the wreck in the hope of getting more of the passengers to join him in the secession to which, as we must suppose, he all along looked forward at some future time.

The method of his secession, when it came, puts this state of mind in a very clear light. Mrs. Ward was copying an article in which the

Church of Rome was recognised by him, as it had been for the last two or three years, as the true Church. She broke down when she had copied half of it. "I cannot stand it," she said, "I shall go and be received into the Catholic Church." His wife's resolution led Mr. Ward to look for a moment at his own condition. "A little sooner or later makes no difference," he said, "I will go with you."

It is easy to conceive the disturbing influence which such a disciple must have had upon Newman's mind. He had retired from leadership, and allowed his followers to go each his own way. But Ward refused to go his own way, or rather he insisted on dragging Newman with him along the path he had chosen. Church has left us a vivid description of a process which he must have closely and sorrowfully watched. During all this time he was in constant communication with Newman, and constantly, we may be sure, consulted by him. But one disciple cannot hinder another from seeking guidance from their common master, and in form it was guidance that Ward asked for, though in fact it was something quite different. "He was in the habit of appealing to Mr. Newman to pronounce on the soundness of his principles and inferences, with the view of getting Mr. Newman's sanction for them against more timid or more dissatisfied friends; and he would come down with great glee on

objectors to some new and startling position, with the reply, 'Newman says so.'" But the appeals which enabled Ward to give this reply were disastrous in their results upon Newman in the state of "perplexity, distress, anxiety" in which he then was. His conviction of the greatness of the problem presented to him, his sense of the "tremendous responsibilities" alike to himself and to others which pressed on him from every side, disposed him above all things to reserve and silence. These only could give him time for looking at his position all round, for weighing and balancing against one another the many considerations which pressed upon him, for taking each separate step when, and only when, he was thoroughly satisfied that it was the right one.

It was in this state of mind, writes Church, that, "he had, besides bearing his own difficulties, to return, off-hand and at the moment, some response to questions which he had not framed, which he did not care for, on which he felt no call to pronounce, which he was not perhaps yet ready to face, and to answer which he must commit himself irrevocably and publicly to more than he was prepared for. . . . He had continually to accept conclusions which he would rather have kept in abeyance, to make admissions which were used without their qualifications, to push on and sanction extreme ideas which he himself shrank from because they were extreme.

But it was all over with his command of time, his liberty to make up his mind slowly on the great decision. He had to go at Mr. Ward's pace, and not his own."

Whether Ward's influence did more than hurry Newman forwards—whether, had more time been left him in which to frame his decision, the decision itself might have been different, whether longer delay might have made the horoscope of the English Church seem less hopeless,—it is impossible to say. It is just conceivable, if no more, that had he been left alone during this interval the course taken by his own mind might have been different, and that the events which in the end determined it might not have happened. For these events were themselves the result of Ward's own action. His speculations took shape in 1844 in a volume of six hundred pages—*The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in Comparison with Existing Practice*—and it was the publication of this book that, for the time, brought the Movement about the ears of all who took part in it.

At the beginning of the October Term the Heads of Houses appointed a committee to examine the *Ideal*, and as a result of their labours notice was given that Convocation would be asked (1) to condemn Mr. Ward's book; (2) to deprive the author of his University degrees; and (3) to make every one who subscribed the Articles declare that

he accepted them in the sense in which they were first put forth, and were now imposed by the University. The third proposal was at once denounced, and not by Tractarians only, as a new test ; and so violent was the opposition it excited that three weeks before the day of voting the Vice-Chancellor announced its withdrawal. The Heads then tried to gain the same end in a way more likely, as they thought, to succeed, and one which would have the additional recommendation of disgracing "a greater name than Mr. Ward's." In place of the withdrawn test they decided to submit to Convocation a decree embodying their own censure of Tract 90. Convocation met on the 13th of February, 1845. The condemnation of the *Ideal* was carried by 777 votes to 386 ; the degradation of its author by 569 to 511 ; the incongruous effect of the penalty—which only sentenced Ward to wear an undergraduate's gown—and its doubtful legality accounting for the largeness of the minority. With these victories, however, the Heads had to be content. The Proctors had by the University Statutes the right of vetoing a decree in Convocation, and the Proctors for the year, Guillemard of Trinity, and Church of Oriel, had already announced to the Hebdomadal Board their intention to veto the condemnation of Tract 90. The effect of this could only be suspensive, for the Proctors' year of office

was nearly at an end, and their successors would not be chosen from the same colleges. For the moment, however, it was decisive, and, as it turned out, the Proctors had rightly interpreted the feeling of the University. The decree was not again brought forward. The scene in the Theatre has been well described by James Mozley. When the resolution was proposed "a shout of 'Non' was raised, and resounded through the whole building, and 'Placets' from the other side, over which Guillemard's *Nobis procuratoribus non placet* was heard like a trumpet, and cheered enormously. . . . Without any formal dissolution, indeed without a word more being spoken, as if such an interposition stopped all business, the Vice-Chancellor tucked up his gown and hurried out of the Theatre, and in five minutes the whole scene of action was cleared."

A letter from Church to his mother says of the proceedings: "The University has committed itself to measures which, whatever Ward has said, are flagrantly disproportionate to his offence, and to the punishment which has been inflicted on much greater offenders, if they have been visited at all. The only thing to relieve the day has been the extreme satisfaction I had in helping to veto the third iniquitous measure against Newman. It was worth while being Proctor to have had the unmixed pleasure of doing this." "Helping to veto" is a good example of Church's

customary manner of describing his own acts. That he was really the author of the step which he and his colleague decided to take is, alike from his character and from his friendship with Newman, the more natural and probable account. "It was the Dean's way," writes Canon Buckle, who, in 1845, was a Junior Fellow of Oriel, "then, as always, to be an invisible force, not conspicuously acting or speaking himself, but influencing others who did speak and act."[1] At all events, the joint *nobis procuratoribus non placet* stands out as one of the most dramatic incidents in the story of the Movement.

[1] Quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 54.

CHAPTER V.

Oxford after Newman.

AMID all this strife and confusion one voice had been ominously silent. Newman had withdrawn to Littlemore, and, except for an expression of his thanks to the Proctors, had made no comment on what had passed at Oxford. He had been busy with the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. On the 3rd of October he asked the Provost of Oriel to remove his name from the books of the College and the University, and on the 8th he was received into the Roman Church.

Those of his disciples who had specially associated themselves with Ward followed him in the course of the same or the next year. To them, at all events, the call of duty was unmistakable. But for those who remained there arose the most painful of all necessities. They had to ask themselves why they stayed behind when "the person whom they had been accustomed to revere as few men are revered, whose labours, whose greatness, whose tenderness, whose singleness and holiness of purpose they had been permitted to know

intimately,"[1] had thought himself bound to sacrifice all that had been closest and dearest to him, and to go out into a strange land. This was the question that confronted Church in the closing months of 1845 and for many months after. How he answered it we know, though, as no letters of 1846 have been preserved, the details of the process have to be gathered from various quarters and arranged with only occasional help from himself. There is no formal *Apologia* for his decision to remain in the Church of England. Certainly the authorities of that Church took not the slightest pains to keep him or any one else. "Here in Oxford," wrote Charles Marriott in 1846, "the way in which one sees men worried out of our Church is enough to stir up no little bitterness." Bishops and Heads had alike shown their entire incapacity for managing the Movement. Their one desire was to get rid of it altogether. They would have given a good deal probably if they could but have driven Pusey and Keble to follow Newman's example.

As far back as 1841, Church had thought it right to tell the Provost that he was in general agreement with Tract 90, and his offer to resign his Tutorship had been accepted, though it left the Provost with three vacancies on his

[1] A short appeal to Members of Convocation on the proposed censure of No. 90. By Frederick Rogers (Lord Blachford) quoted in *Life and Letters*.

hands. Later he had been warned that in the event of his applying for testimonials for Priest's Orders the College might refuse them, and his use of the Proctors' veto had not made his position more assured. Nor was Church at all blind to the argumentative force with which circumstances seemed to invest Newman's decision. "A number of good and able men," he wrote long afterwards, "who had once promised to be among the most valuable servants of the English Church . . . were invited on one side to come; they were told sternly and scornfully on the other to go." What was there to stay them, when in the bitter, and in many cases agonising, struggle which they had gone through as to their duty to God and conscience, a sign seemed now to be given them which they could not mistake?" Indeed the wonder is, not that so many went but that they did not all go. To-day, as we look back over the intervening sixty years, we see that the Movement has grown and prospered to an extent which hardly anyone —except perhaps Pusey—would then have thought possible. But in 1845 it seemed at an end. In 1843 Church could write, "There is no use despairing till the last chance is lost, which is not yet by a good deal." He could hardly have said that after Newman had gone. Those who out-stayed him had then to review the whole array of their convictions in the light of what Church rightly calls, "The Catastrophe."

To some of them this necessity did not present itself for the first time in that eventful year. In the last chapter of *The Oxford Movement* there are two extracts from contemporary papers, genuine records of private perplexities actually felt, which evidently describe Church's own state of mind. The first belongs to a time when the storm had not yet come. "As things are going on, a man does not know where he is going to. . . . I cannot at all imagine myself a convert; but how am I likely in the probable state of things to be able to serve as an English clergyman? Shall I ever get Priest's Orders? Shall I be able to continue always serving? What is one's line to be; what ought to be one's aims; or can one have any?" The second extract, dating from a time when "the storm" had at length come, though before its "final violence," shows that the writer's mind was already clearing. He finds himself set down as a man who may any day, and certainly will some day, go over. Nor, though in his own case he knows this belief to be unfounded, can he deny that the action of others has given ground for it. There is a strong tendency among many to Rome and he will be supposed to share this tendency "unless he gives up his best friends and the most saint-like men in England." The only road by which he can escape this suspicion is not open to him. He cannot deny that the Western Church under Rome "is a true,

living, venerable branch of the Catholic Church," without doing violence to his own strongest convictions. "Corruptions these Churches may have, so may we; but putting these aside, they are Catholic Christians, or Catholic Christianity has failed out of the world: we are no more Catholic than they." If to say this in the then state of public opinion was to be suspected of disloyalty to the English Church—as it was—under this suspicion he must be content to lie.

But Church had also to consider the grounds on which he parted from the leader whom he had so faithfully followed. Newman had been accused of disloyalty to the Church of England, and the accusation, wholly false in the first instance, had proved just in the end. Why should it not be equally just in his own case? Church found the answer in an appeal from Newman harassed, disappointed, despairing—the Newman of 1845—to Newman at ease, resolute, undismayed—the Newman of 1839. Down to the summer of the latter year Newman was perfectly satisfied with his position, and all that time Church had been in entire agreement with him. So long as Newman remained in the Church of England his friends were little disposed to question his judgment on the conduct of the controversy with Rome. But, when he had left it, these same friends were compelled to consider "whether the reasons which had brought him to that conclusion were

strong enough to draw them after him. We had our Sparta, a noble, if a rough and incomplete one; patiently to do our best for it was better than leaving it to its fate, in obedience to signs and reasonings which the heat of strife might well make delusive." For what was it after all that had transformed the Newman of 1839 into the Newman of 1845? The discovery that in three of the theological conflicts of the fourth and fifth centuries Rome had been right when a large part of the Church had been wrong. But the conclusion which Newman came in the end to found on this fact was inevitable only to himself. Granted that Rome had been right in three great controversies, it did not follow that she was, much less that she must be, right in all controversies. If this last position was to be proved, it must be proved by a very much larger induction than Newman had made.

Again, in his readiness to rest the whole case upon three possibly isolated incidents, Newman had taken no account of the change in ecclesiastical conditions. When the Church was one, it was natural gladly to accept the leadership of the chief Patriarchal See. But, when the Church had broken up into separate bodies and that largely by the action of this very See, much more was needed to justify the claim to universal supremacy than words, however "palmary," of a single Father. Here, it may be, the history of Newman's mind in regard to

Rome placed him at a disadvantage. The reaction from a time when he thought her Antichrist naturally tended to carry him to the opposite extreme. To find that he had thus misjudged a Church which had so consistently defended the faith of CHRIST, had conferred such blessings upon Europe, had been the mother of so many saints and the nurse of such heroic enterprises, was a shock which might well unfit him for judging the Roman claims fairly. It might not be possible for Newman long to content himself with the conviction that "whatever might be said against the modern Roman Church—and the charges against it were very heavy—it was still, among serious corruption and error, a teacher to the nations of the Christian creed and hope." The pendulum had once swung so far in the other direction that it could hardly be expected to stop half way on its return. But to those who had not the same need to make expiation for past misconceptions, there were facts that needed to be accounted for, and were not accounted for on the Roman theory. The existence of the Eastern Church was one such fact. The history of the English Church was another.

Newman, says Church—speaking of the time before 1839—"was quite alive to the difficulties of the Anglican position," and so we may be sure was Church. But before 1839 Newman and Church had alike "learned as a first principle to recognise the limitations of human

knowledge, and the unphilosophical folly of trying to round off into finished and pretentious schemes our fragmentary yet uncertain notions of our own condition and of God's dealing with it." To this first principle Church could still adhere, though Newman had grown impatient of it. The *Via Media* was an unhappy phrase, for it suggested an artificial compromise which was more concerned in securing that there should not be too much of any one truth than that there should be enough of any. Still, though the name might be ill-chosen, the substance was worth keeping, for the substance was "the certain fact that in the early and undivided Church there was such a thing as Authority and there was no such thing known as Infallibility." The line taken, by Ward and others almost from the first, and by Newman in the end, was that the *Via Media* had no real existence. It was nothing but a paper theory. To this Church replied at the time of which I am writing, as Newman had replied ten years earlier: "Let us see if we cannot make it something more than a paper theory." In 1845 Newman had given up the hope of doing this, and at that date, it may be, he seemed more likely to be right than Church. But in the end Church had proved so far the truer prophet that he was able before his death to write, "This at least may be said, that the longer experience of the last fifty years has shown that

the Church of England has been working more and more on such a theory, and that the Church of England, whatever its faults may be, is certainly not a Church only on paper." In its main outlines Newman's view "has become the accepted Anglican view. . . . The fundamental idea of the relation and character of the two Churches remains the same as it was shadowed forth in 1836."

Newman was received into the Roman Church in October. He stayed on at Littlemore till the following February, "still seeing something of his friends." No record, however, is preserved of these meetings. Church was one of the few who, says Newman, "came to see the last of me" at the Observatory, at what was to be his last sight of Oxford for just thirty-two years. "It was felt at the time on both sides," says Miss Church, "to be a parting of more than ordinary significance. A friendship which had been so close and which had been bound up with the hopes and enthusiasm of a great enterprise, could scarcely at once withdraw itself within the limits of mere friendly intercourse. Time was needed for its readjustment to new and strange conditions; and much had to happen before the old companionship could be resumed, as it was at length on almost the old terms of freedom and confidence and affection, to last with no further interruption till the end of life. In the interval, however, the separation was strangely

and pathetically complete. After the parting at the Observatory fifteen years elapsed, during which no direct communication by word or letter passed between them."[1]

From 1846 to 1852 Church remained at Oxford, taking no very prominent part in University matters — probably indeed finding University life flat and uninteresting after the excitement of previous years, and Oxford society commonplace after the tremendous breach made on it by the secession of 1845. But he put his hand to whatever work offered itself and contributed largely to newspapers and reviews. The foundation of the *Guardian*, in 1846, furnished him with much employment of this kind.

It was felt by the Tractarians who had not followed Newman that a quarterly organ was not enough for a party which did not mean to be suppressed; and in these years of difficulty and suspicion, when every man's hand was against them, the *Guardian* did excellent service. The founders of the paper long constituted its staff, and Lord Blachford has left an amusing description of the vigorous and original way in which the work was done. "We made an agreement with some printers in Little Pulteney Street, and hired a room opposite the printing establishment in the shop of a baker, where we could attend or meet to see what was going on, and where some of us spent the greater part of

[1] *Life and Letters*, pp. 60, 61.

every Tuesday night, correcting proofs, rejecting or inserting matter, writing articles on the last subjects which had turned up, giving last touches and generally editing. Bernard, Haddan, and I being in London, must, I suppose, have done most of this work, but Church and Mozley used to take their share, making use of a bedroom in my lodgings in Queen Street, Mayfair. To these we used sometimes to return at four or five o'clock in the morning —sometimes perhaps later—for I connect some of these returns home with the smell of hot bread from the oven, on which, I think, we sometimes made our breakfast!" If the history of the Movement after it ceased to be distinctively associated with Oxford is ever written, the early numbers of the *Guardian* will form the chief material for this part of the work. It is difficult now to conceive the persistent zeal which animated this little group of men, holding on, as it might well seem, to a sinking ship from which the captain and a large part of the crew had made their escape. Suspected and decried in every quarter, distrusted by the Bishops, misunderstood by the mass of the clergy, disliked by the laity, they were generally set down as men who had wanted the honesty or the courage to go to Rome with their leader. But their resolution never flinched even in the second catastrophe of 1851. Grave differences of opinion arose among them later on, and after a

time the lead passed in a great measure into the hands of men who pursued the same object by different means and who were not always rightly judged by their elders. But nowhere were the Tractarian tradition and temper more consistently maintained than in this earlier generation. By none was it better understood that the test of a religious movement is the influence which it exercises on the characters and lives of those who take part in it.

The work of which Church had special charge in the *Guardian* was reviewing, and the early numbers showed the wide area which his interests embraced. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, D'Aubigné's *Reformation*, Keble's *Lyra Innocentium*, and the *Vestiges of Creation* are among the books noticed. The last attracted the notice and commendation of Sir Richard Owen, and an article on Le Verrier's discovery of the planet Neptune drew a letter to the *Guardian* from the astronomer himself.

Except in 1847, which was spent abroad, reviewing was for more than twenty years a regular element in Church's work. Life in college first and life in a small country parish afterwards left him the necessary leisure, and his own knowledge and judgment made him an admirable critic. Many of these reviews have been rescued from the grave of anonymous journalism and live in books, as do some of the longer papers which he contributed to the *British Critic* and the *Christian Remembrancer*.

Journalism has rarely seen a style at once so characteristic and so free from the mannerisms on which a great writer's reputation sometimes rests. His work indeed is the exact expression of his own theory of writing. "It has always seemed to me," he says in a letter of 1887, "that thoughts brought their own words, which of course had to be considered and sifted; but the root of the expression must be in the thought itself, which, if it was real and worth anything, would suggest the expression. And except in watching against the temptation of *unreal* and of *fine* words, I do not recognise in myself any special training for style. The great thing in writing is to know what you want and mean to say, and to say it in words that come as near to your meaning as you can get them to come. . . . That is the old and the true rule of writing, because it is based on the effort after reality, and is the counter-charm to laziness and negligence and to show and make-believe. It involves certain bye-rules against these faults—care and trouble, and satisfying yourself that you have said what you meant; merciless cutting out of merely fine language and of useless adjectives and adverbs; care about your verbs in preference to your adjectives. After all, self-restraint and jealousy of what one's self-indulgence or vanity tempts us to is the best rule in writing as in eating." And he adds, "I heard and read a good deal of Mr. Newman's preaching;

and it is, I am sure, to him that I owe it, if I can write at all simply and with the wish to be real." [1]

[1] *Life and Letters*, pp. 325, 326.

CHAPTER VI.

Life at Whatley.

DEAR as Oxford was to Church, as the place to which he "owed all that had most enriched and deepened his life," what he loved was the Oxford of the past rather than of the present. The dislike which the comparison bred in him was reinforced in 1850 by his engagement to Miss Helen Frances Bennett, the daughter of a Somersetshire squire and parson, and the niece of his earliest friend, Dr. Moberly. The early Tractarians had undergone much searching of heart before they could make up their mind to "rat," as Hurrell Froude had been wont to call the exchange—by a Priest—of the celibate for the married state. But Church was not the man to forget that each ideal has its place in the composite life of the clergy. Long afterwards we shall find him facing the possible abandonment of position and assured income as calmly as though he had neither wife nor children to care for. He could enjoy—and no one could have enjoyed more fully—what, in his farewell sermon at Whatley, he called "the choicest and abounding

blessings which GOD has to give" without for a moment permitting them to stand in the way of a duty if once it should become plain. With marriage in view he accepted, in 1852, the living of Whatley, in Somersetshire, and was ordained Priest. The care of a little village of two hundred people must have seemed the grave of any ambition that Church's friends had ever entertained for him. But Church threw himself into the life of a Parish Priest with the same simple directness which had marked his life at Oriel and was thereafter to mark his life at S. Paul's.

The duties were unfamiliar, the solitude of a single-handed cure was at first depressing. But the work was there to be done and he was there to do it, and this was a combination which here, as elsewhere, called forth all his energies. He was a daily visitor at the parish school ; he started a night-school ; he drew the children round him out of school by paper-chases and long walks to provide objects for wondering examination in his microscope ; he took an interest in the every-day life of the cottagers — their work, their children, their gardens, their pigs. He would go and sit by the bedside of the sick, watching with them until the dreaded "turn of the night" had passed. He could be summoned to the dying by the sound of pebbles thrown against his window. It used to be a saying that "a man dursn't any longer beat his wife, else the parson would be down on him." And it was the

parson who was always sent for to stop a drunken brawl "and, if need be, to step in to part the combatants."

The intellectual interests of his life at Whatley were served partly by his contributions to the *Guardian* and the *Saturday Review* and partly by his correspondence. The extracts from the latter given in the *Life and Letters* are evidence, if no other were forthcoming, of the extent and variety of his pursuits. There is no trace in them of the remote country parish except it be in the greater thoroughness of treatment which is born of leisure. Fortunately one of his correspondents was Dr. Asa Gray, the American botanist.

Letters written to people abroad naturally go more into detail and take less for granted than those meant for reading in England, and Dr. Gray was the recipient of much of Church's thoughts upon public affairs. Church confided to him his fears about the changes made in Oxford in 1854—changes to which he has "been on the whole a well-wisher," but about which all the same he feels nervous. "Say what people will, Oxford has turned out more highly cultivated thought, thought which acts with greater power on the country, both in the purely intellectual and in the practical order of life, than any other English body; and if it should be spoilt by clumsy doctoring—" He welcomes a theory about the distribution of species, which Gray had put forward, as "being

the one to take, instead of Agassiz's, which simply amounts to taking species as they are found, without any enquiry as to their possible previous history." And then he adds, with that keen sense of the wonder of things which never for a moment deserted him, and more than anything else perhaps ministered to his unfailing freshness of mind, "But the strangeness of creation, whether in many distant centres or one, whether by an individual or a pair, or by a whole family at once, seems equally overwhelming to our present faculties and thoughts." A few months later—the *Origin of Species* had been published in the interval—he recalls "the once famous *Vestiges*," and his thinking at the time that people answered it often "more like old ladies than philosophers." It is "wonderful 'shortness of thought' to treat the theory itself" (of Evolution) "as incompatible with ideas of a higher and spiritual order."

In a letter written a year later he repeats this criticism, and goes on, "but I am afraid that this is the general way of thinking among our religious people: and so the theory does not get fair discussion, either for or against, because there is on both sides an irresistible tacit reference to other interests in the minds of disputants." He speaks with the same wise calmness of the reception given to *Essays and Reviews*. "It seems to me, with many good and true things in it, to be a reck-

less book ; and several of the writers have not got their thoughts and theories into such order and consistency as to warrant their coming before the world with such revolutionary views. But there has been a great deal of unwise panic, and unjust and hasty abuse ; and people who have not an inkling of the difficulties which beset the questions are for settling them in a summary way, which is perilous for every one."

The American Civil War has its share in this part of the correspondence, but unfortunately it is referred to only in two letters, one at the beginning and one at the end of the conflict. In the first, Church takes the view then common in English society, but takes it on a very different ground. He is "an optimist" about Secession, not, as many people were, because it would make the United States weaker, but because he was inclined to think that "it is a case where separation, when once accepted, may make both parts greater." In the second letter he views the result on its bright side. "Slavery is destroyed. I cannot say that beforehand I should have said that this was the way in which it had best be destroyed. But the thing is done and I earnestly trust that its consequences may be controlled in the right direction."

English politics also appear from time to time. Writing under the impression of coming change which was so general at the time of

Lord Palmerston's death, he describes himself as "a Conservative by instinct and feeling." But he puts his finger on what then were, and have been more than once since, the characteristic faults of the Conservative party—negativeness, barrenness, fierceness.

When Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1868, he offered Church a Canonry at Worcester, but in the *Guardian* Church had defended by anticipation the policy of the new Government in reference to the Irish Church, and had then made up his mind that he would have to give some proof that he had not been writing for the good things such writing might bring him. The terms in which the offer was put to him did indeed make it "hard to say 'No,'" but still "No" was said. "I found it hard to bear the idea of being held up as the example of the lucky High Churchman, who managed just at the right moment to pronounce in favour of what two-thirds of his brethren consider an anti-Church policy in Ireland." His acceptance of the policy in question did not blind him to its drawbacks. "There will be a great deal of hardship and some wrong ; and the immediate effect will probably be imperceptible in reconciling Ireland to her elder sister. But it is not an easy thing for a nation to clean its hands, and I am willing to make much allowance for the probable imperfection and clumsiness of the process."

Disestablishment in Ireland turned men's

thoughts, for a time, to Disestablishment in England, and there is great interest in the comparison between what Church said on this question in 1870 and what he said in 1850. In the earlier year he wrote in the *Christian Remembrancer* an article on the Relations between Church and State, the last paragraph of which runs thus: "But there is one contingency which in the present state of the world comes unbidden into our thoughts. It may be the fate of the Church throughout the world to sink again, as regards the State, into the condition of a *sect*, as she began to sink from being the associate — honoured or disliked or reluctantly acknowledged — of Governments, to be ignored by them as a mere school of thought, or watched as a secret society, or legalised as a harmless or even a useful association. Something like it has happened abroad and it may follow here. But do not let us use words lightly about it. If it comes we may turn it to account, as it has been turned to account abroad. But before it came the Church abroad shrank from no sacrifice, which she could consider lawful, to avert it; she well knew what she would lose by it, whatever might be its compensations. And surely the Church here would be inexcusable if she courted it or needlessly let it come to pass. This great nation of Englishmen is committed to her trust; if she cannot influence them, what other body has a more reasonable

hope? If they will break away from her or cast her off, let it be clearly their fault, not hers or that of her clergy."

In the twenty years that followed, Church had come to see more strongly the case on the other side. The example of France had shown that a Church might be so set upon averting Disestablishment as to consider lawful some sacrifices which she would have done better to shrink from. He had not, indeed, changed his estimate of the consequences of Disestablishment. "I think," he writes to Asa Gray in 1870, "it will be an evil thing for the present generation at least; for certainly no machinery that I can see could take the place of the Church in the country districts; and, with all their innumerable shortcomings, the English clergy, as a whole, have worked well and hard for the poor and helpless, who would be badly off without them."

But he sees more plainly than before the growing divergence between the unchanging Church and the changing State. "I think sometimes that we are nearer than we know to a great break-up. The difficulty is beginning to be more visible every day, of reconciling a Church with great privileges with the general set of modern policy; of combining a National Church with a Church having the *raison d'être* of a religious society, believing in a definite religion and teaching it. Generosity, consciousness of our ignorance and liability to

prejudice, and honest tolerance, may keep things together for a time ; but tolerance is apt to take the form of mere indifference or absence of convictions ; consciousness of ignorance requires more knowledge than most people have; and generosity sometimes is merely making free with what other people value and you don't care for, and what calls itself by that name is often a very questionable quality. So, one of these days I expect that we shall find ourselves put into the position of having to choose between making the Church co-extensive with what can be called the religion of the whole nation, or giving up our present position." [1]

As commonly happens, the expected change has come far more slowly than Church expected. What he said of the ecclesiastical situation in 1870 may still be said of it in 1905. But the course that he thought events would follow is the course they have followed in fact, and the choice that he expected Churchmen would one day have to make is more than ever the choice which lies before them. The only difference between the two periods is that a name has now been found for a process which in 1870 had not been finally labelled. Whereas men then spoke of making the Church co-extensive with the nation, they now speak of Undenominationalism.

To none of his correspondents does Church seem to have written so fully and regularly as

[1] *Life and Letters*, pp. 186, 187.

to Dr. Asa Gray. But there are passages in almost all his letters of this period which equal in interest those from which I have been quoting. One note which runs through many of them is the limitations of human knowledge and the imperfection of man's realisation of them. "The way in which people go on spinning arguments," he writes to James Mozley, in 1855, "as if the whole of the invisible world was as easy to be understood as the theory of the steam-engine, has long been one of my standing wonders. . . . The idea of perfect and absolute knowledge, which is involved in so much of what is said and taught on all sides, becomes daily more unendurable to me."

When *Essays and Reviews* appeared, Church had been chiefly anxious that it should not be answered hastily or violently. "In noticing a book of this kind it is a question whether anything but a tolerably complete answer does not give advantage to the other side. . . . For any effect to be produced, the main things said must be met face to face and their real value and significance duly measured."

Nine years later he notes the "direct result of the extravagant measures which were taken years ago," in the outcry against Dr. Temple's appointment to the Bishopric of Exeter. It is "most unjust and in its violence very discreditable. . . . We have not so many great names on the religious side that we can afford to

see a man like Pusey, who is a man after all to rank with religious leaders of a high mark in all ages, casting away all the lessons of a lifetime and countenancing the worst violence of a zealot like ——. Seeing a man, learned and religious as Pusey is, so blindly unjust and intemperate, is a heavy blow against that which is more dear to Pusey than life." [1] Still Church thought that "explanations might have been given (before the day of Consecration), both in charity and in wisdom, without any compromise of liberty."

The Vatican Council suggests a quaint comparison. "One's old feeling towards Heads of Houses, Symons and Co., makes one partly understand how fellows like Dupanloup are dealt with and how they don't like it." But his sympathy with the French Bishops did not blind him to the share they had in their own defeat. "There is a good deal of Nemesis in it, for all their past flatteries and unctuous rhetoric about Rome and the Pope. . . . The world is full of warnings to people that they may be taken at their word, and that they had better measure their statements and not talk big; but the position of the French Bishops is one of the most remarkable ones." And, in another letter, "People have been talking rhetoric for ages, beyond their real thought, and now that they are taken at their word they are all in confusion. But

[1] *Life and Letters*, p. 182.

I suppose it is a long time off before people learn the danger of talking beyond their meaning."

The Franco-German War, or rather the moral causes of the French defeat and the moral consequences of the German victory, are the subject of a long letter to Lord Blachford. "I share your indignation," he writes, "so far, that is, as it was provoked by the strange and scandalous lying with which the French have tried to help out their shortcomings." This, of course, was the prevalent feeling in England at the beginning of 1871, and in Lord Blachford it found eager and sympathising expression. The French had first lost everything by their "lying and vapouring and vanity" and then they had made their fall greater by their obstinate persistence in carrying on a hopeless struggle. No, answers Church, this is not the whole case even as regards the last point. "There is a good deal to be said for French obstinacy and hoping against hope." Their chances after Sedan "though poor were not worthless," and we should have acted in the same way, "if after a great naval disaster the terms of peace had been the surrender of Ireland."

Moreover, Church looked further ahead than his correspondent. He had no words to express his admiration at the "intellectual greatness" of the Prussian success. It was a wonderful outcome of "long, underground,

patient headwork." But it had a moral as well as an intellectual side to it, and it was the moral side that excited his fear and detestation. This great achievement of human intellect seemed to him "the revival of the military barbarism of the kings and nobles of the old times, with all the appliances of modern knowledge to help them, and make them more horribly proud, arrogant, relentless in their will, contemptuous of right in their means, unmeasured in their claims."

The history of Germany and Europe has made Church's conception of the German temper the common possession of Englishmen. But it was not so in 1871, and the fact is worth recording as an example of the soundness of his judgment and of the way in which that judgment was cleared and reinforced by moral considerations. He had no jealousy of German unity, nor would he admit that any one "had a right, from ideas of 'balance of power' to hinder or embarrass it." The ground of his dislike was his inability to get rid of the belief that German unity, at present, means simply "the predominance of a great military monarchy at Berlin, animated by the spirit of a feudal caste which looks on soldiership and war as the highest and most honourable of human occupations." That is the price which Germany has had to pay for her gains in the field.

One more aspect of the time at Whatley must be given to complete the picture. It is

that family life which counted for so much in Church's happiness, though his sensitive reserve so seldom permits him to make any reference to it. "My boy has grown up into a Public School youngster, and has won his place on the Foundation at Winchester ; an odd mixture of childishness and cleverness, idleness and interest in work, affection and petulance. . . . Then there are the three little girls, still of that delightful age when they have not come to dream of young-ladyhood, while they have all the interest of life and quickness,[1] which only mere children have, for their dolls. They are companions not the less pleasant and interesting, from the totally different order of ideas in which they move, and the original points of view from which they see things. . . . At this moment the whole party, with the boy at their head, are in the shrubbery, showing the effect on his mind of a recent course of Cooper's novels, and energetically following his lead while he makes them 'be Indians' for him—Mohawks, Delawares, and Shawnees—and they have been pursuing on the war-path, tomahawking and whooping, and displaying the scalps they have taken, all the afternoon!"

It is a pleasant glimpse with which to close the Whatley life—a life surrendered so unwillingly and looked back to with so many regrets.

[1] *Life and Letters*, p. 177.

CHAPTER VII.

First Years at S. Paul's.

DR. MANSEL'S death, in July, 1871, placed the Deanery of S. Paul's at Mr. Gladstone's disposal, and he at once offered it to Church. Left to himself, he would have unhesitatingly declined it. In the first instance indeed, as we learn from a letter of Liddon's dated August 19th, he did decline it. "But I think," adds Liddon, "I prevailed on him to pause. We both returned to Mr. Gladstone."

On August 25th Church writes to Cardinal Newman: "It was settled on Wednesday, Gladstone would not let me off. Whether I was weak in yielding I cannot tell." And then he quotes a verse from Ecclesiasticus which is seldom, perhaps, on the lips of those nominated to great offices. "Much has been said about coveting great places, and much about shirking responsibilities. I think that there is still something wanting to be said about the doctrine of the Son of Sirach, about a man's trusting his own soul and about there being no man living more faithful unto him than it. 'For a man's mind is sometimes wont to tell him more than

seven watchmen who sit above in a high tower.'"

The shock of the coming change had not grown less when, on the 10th of October, he wrote to Asa Gray: "I wish I could say I was reconciled to what is to be. But I am not; and I cannot expect to be. I have made a great mistake, the mistake of not knowing how to say '*No!*' to warm and pressing appeals from people whom I respected, when my own judgment was really quite the other way."

After much and anxious thought, this was the conclusion that remained with him. He had made a great mistake. It was a strange prelude to a period of strenuous and eventful service, but it was also the prelude best fitted to give the lie to the fears expressed in it. Even as Church wrote it, he felt that it was "idle and vain talking," and promised Gray that he should have no more of it. But the prospect of the work before him—to make S. Paul's "waken up from its long slumber, and show what use it is of and how it can justify its existence as the great central church of London," only filled him with a conviction that he had "neither aptitude nor experience" for what he would have to do. Yet for once the Son of Sirach was wrong, and the Seven Watchmen measured Church's powers, and read his future, more accurately than he did himself. Doubtless his regret for much that he had left behind at Whatley, most of all for the delight

of "being able to worship and serve away from the strife of tongues," remained with him. But against this must be set the sense of new powers, and new opportunities of using them that came to him as the years went on.

What these opportunities were is admirably described by Canon Scott Holland in a chapter which he contributed to Miss Church's book. Hitherto S. Paul's had been "waiting for the discovery of its activities." Twice a day a "tiny body of cultivated musicians" hidden away behind the solid wall of the organ-screen "sang to a sprinkled remnant of worshippers." At other times "over the length and breadth of its large area, cold, naked and unoccupied, mooning sight-seers roamed at large."

Canon Holland then enumerates six directions which the work of reform had to embrace. There must be continuous worship. That worship must show in every detail the marks of reverent and loving care. The Eucharist must no longer be "the privilege of a secluded knot who have it all to themselves at the obscure end of a Sunday morning service;" it must open each day with its sanction, and on Sundays show itself as the "culminating moment of public worship," to which music and art should minister of their best. The worship thus reorganised must cover the whole area of the building, a requirement which necessitated the removal of the organ-screen and a great increase in the number of the choir. The Cathedral

must be open to all worshippers. There must be "no challenging vergers, no obstruction to free movement, no inquiries, no suspicions, no exclusions, no shaking of the money-bag." And finally all the various work and activities of the Church—"missions, committees, guilds, leagues, societies, associations"—must find their natural home there. But all this was only a part, and the least difficult part, of the work which lay before the Dean and Chapter.

The activities that have been enumerated represented the edifice which had to be erected when once the ground was cleared to receive it. That ground was cumbered, however, by a distracting variety of obstacles. The officials of the Cathedral were separate corporations, with their separate rights, and these had to be dealt with before the work of reconstruction could be begun. It was to this part of the work that the new Dean's distrust of himself specially pointed. His high ecclesiastical imagination painted, we cannot doubt, a glowing picture of what S. Paul's might be made. But what would not the task of making it involve? "What would it not ask at every turn"—I am still quoting Canon Holland—"of him who was to head it? What breaches would have to be driven into ingrained habits? What collisions with vested interests, and obstructive traditions and solid blocks of resistant sloth?"

A Cathedral ideal had to be created and recommended to men whose whole conception of what a Cathedral ought to be was hostile to that of the innovators. The work was gigantic, and, but for two advantages which Church found ready to his hand, it would have been impossible. Without a sympathetic Chapter he might have been out-voted at every turn. That is the common fate of Cathedral reformers. They find themselves alone among uncongenial or inactive colleagues.

The various parties in the Church are too often so well represented in the Chapter that the activity of each is neutralised, and, as none of them can do what he wants, they agree to do nothing beyond what is necessary. But at S. Paul's the whole Chapter had died out within three years, and in consequence Dr. Gregory had been appointed a Canon in 1868, Liddon in 1869, and Lightfoot in 1870. Church was thus sure of warm and enlightened support in everything he took in hand. But no amount of enlightenment can carry costly improvements through if the funds are wanting. The changes which were to revolutionise S. Paul's had to be paid for as well as ordered, and this necessitated the command of large funds. Happily the large funds were within reach.

The arrangement between the Cathedral and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was still unmade, and in Canon Gregory the Chapter had a Treasurer who could be trusted not to

repeat the mistake which had been made at Westminster Abbey. Well as Dean Stanley loved the material fabric of the Abbey, he cared nothing for its function as a Collegiate Church. Consequently when he was asked to state what would be required for the maintenance of the Abbey staff and the Abbey services, he fixed the sum spent on them at the time when the inquiry was made. No visions of what the Abbey might become presented themselves to his imagination ; the continuance of the *status quo* was all that it occurred to him to provide for. At S. Paul's the negotiation was entered upon in a different spirit. "Canon Gregory had planned out this work on a grand scale, with the conviction that whatever the metropolitan Cathedral attempted to do should be done with nobility and distinction. With this plan before him he demanded a staff, an equipment, a plant, a stock of corporate resources, adequate to the intention." The Commissioners were "impressed with the practical reality of the Treasurer's design." It combined two qualities which are not always found in company—warmth of imagination and coolness of calculation. Canon Gregory was able to create a picture of what S. Paul's might become ; he was also able to show in plain figures what it would cost to make the changes he proposed.

It was an immense gain for Dean Church "that the preliminaries were through and that

all was in train by the time that he arrived, and that he inherited a Treasurer keen to press on with a work already in hand and intimately congenial." The conduct and settlement of this scheme was the first work that awaited him. "I am in the thick of papers left by Mansel about the arrangement with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners," he writes to Dr. Mozley on September 16th. "S. Paul's cannot get on, especially with all the grand plans on foot, without large revenues ; and the Commission, besides other things, probably doubt what guarantee they have that, if we get it, we shall spend it rightly, so we shall probably be cut close. But they ought to be liberal." And in the end they were liberal. Indeed they would have been hard to convince if they had wanted any more guarantees than were given by the completeness of the scheme and by the characters of the men on whom its execution specially rested. Liddon was there to fix the attention of the most careless worshipper. "No one could suppose that the changes in the services and ritual at S. Paul's were superficial or formal or of small account, so long as that voice rang out, like a trumpet, telling of righteousness and temperance and judgment, preaching ever and always, with personal passion of belief, Jesus Christ and Him crucified." Lightfoot brought to the support of the Chapter his immense reputation as a scholar, "his robust sense of equity, his

delightful geniality." Whatever the new order of things at S. Paul's might be, it could not be set down as the work of uninstructed men who knew no better standard of worship than their own eclectic fancies. Canon Gregory contributed equal enthusiasm coupled with a severely practical good sense which was never carried away or taken by surprise. And over all these various but converging faculties there came, in the new Dean, what Canon Holland rightly calls "a judicial conscience, up to the standard of which all must be brought. . . . No one could venture on taking the Dean lightly." Nothing that was to come under his eye must be scamped or careless. The work of the Chapter gained immeasurably, alike in unity and in public confidence, through the "incomparable authority" of its new head.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Return to Controversy.

CHURCH'S position at S. Paul's brought him once more into contact with ecclesiastical controversies. For a quarter of a century he had remained outside them, and, as we have seen, to be away from the strife of tongues was one of the things he most valued in his life at Whatley. At S. Paul's, on the other hand, to take some part in them —to have definite opinions about them, to help to guide others in the search for a policy which Churchmen could make their own when driven to defend themselves against wanton attack— became a duty, and as such at once found a place in his life.

But a quarter of a century had greatly changed the Church of England. In 1845, and again in 1851, the Oxford Movement had sustained two tremendous shocks. In some respects the second shock was even greater than the first. There was no personal loss indeed comparable to the loss of Newman, but the cause which had led to the second group of secessions affected the position and

claims of the Church of England more deeply, and more directly. Newman's secession had been an individual act founded on reasons which were unintelligible to the mass of High Churchmen. They were not troubled about the position of the Roman See in the fourth or fifth century. They knew, in a general way, that the Early Church had condemned certain heresies, but what precise share the Popes of that day had in their condemnation was not a matter that concerned them. They had fallen back, as we have seen in Church's own case, on the Prayer Book. It had been Newman's own position down to 1839, and for a time it seemed impregnable. Men brought up in a bad tradition might seek to divest plain words of their plain meaning, but in the end that meaning must prevail. In its first stages the Gorham case had given them no uneasiness. The judgment of the Court of Arches had been what they desired and expected, and they did not allow themselves to doubt that it would be confirmed by the Court of Appeal. In that case they might hope to go on to establish "the complete doctrine of Sacramental Grace."[1] But, when the judgment of the Court of Appeal came, it destroyed a case which Churchmen had imagined to be beyond the power of man to disturb. If the Prayer Book did not teach

[1] Maskell, *Second Letter on the Present Position of the High Church Party in the Church of England*, 1850.

that every baptised child is regenerate, what did it teach ? Where was the use of defending doubtful statements in the Articles by arguments drawn from Tract 90, if language so plain as that of the Baptismal Service was to count for nothing with the highest Ecclesiastical Court ? It seemed for a moment that the Oxford Movement was really at an end, that all that was left for the Church of England was to settle down once more into the theological stagnation from which Newman had roused her eighteen years before, and that those of her children who had hitherto believed in her Divine Mission must seek their true home elsewhere.

It is remarkable that no letters of Church's on this subject seem to have been preserved, if indeed any were written. But he made one important contribution to the controversy in the article already mentioned in the *Christian Remembrancer* on "Church and State." What was most wanted was that men should take time to look at the question closely, and to look at it from all sides. The most important fact—at all events, the fact which soon came to be regarded as the most important—was not that the highest Ecclesiastical Court had given a wrong decision ; for that, a remedy might be devised. It was that the Church of England had been found to have accepted, at the Reformation, a position only to be defended on purely Erastian lines. The Reformation

Statutes were taken down from the shelves on which they had so long slumbered, and all their uncompromising assertions of the Royal Prerogative were set out, in order to show that the Church had sold her birthright for the sake of retaining some fragments of the temporal dignities she had once enjoyed. In dealing with this contention Church did not seek to justify or to make little of what had been done under the Tudor kings. He only pleaded that the Church of England was not the only Church that had submitted to similar pretensions, and that a bondage from which others had escaped without permanent injury could not of itself be fatal to her claim to be a part of the Catholic body.

The agitation caused by the Gorham Judgment was violent for a time, but it left no permanent mark beyond the secession of a few distinguished Churchmen. After that there was an interval during which nothing seemed to happen. The High Church party was silently reconstructing itself, and, though it was long before the results of the process were clearly seen, its origin may be traced back to this time.

Church, in his seclusion at Whatley, had no opportunity of observing the change in its early stages. The first reference to it occurs in a letter describing Keble's funeral in 1866. "It was a strange gathering. There was a meeting of old currents and new. Besides

the people *I* used to think of with Keble, there was a crowd of younger men, who, no doubt, have as much right in him as we have in their way—Mackonochie, Lowder, and that sort. Excellent good fellows, but who, one could not help being conscious, looked upon us as rather *dark* people who don't grow beards [1] and do other proper things."

The change thus noted had two leading features. The most conspicuous, though not the most important, was the new place assigned to ceremonial. The Oxford Movement had been too busy with the weightier matters of the law to have any time to spare for ritual. There had been none at S. Mary's under Newman. To Pusey the "North End" was as familiar as the "Eastward Position." And Church, speaking of vestments in 1874, says, "For myself I should feel very uncomfortable if I had to wear them; and indeed I have never seen a specimen, except the cope which our Bishop wears once a year at the Ordination on Trinity Sunday." But the new men took what turned out to be a wiser and more practical view of the function of ritual in religion.

There are many minds which are more effectually approached through the eye than through the ear. This is the whole philo-

[1] The beard was then looked upon as a ritualistic badge. But neither Mr. Mackonochie nor Mr. Lowder grew a beard.

sophy of painting as compared with other arts. The picture makes its way where speech stands without and knocks vainly for admittance. The final cause of the Oxford Movement had all along been the production of a moral change, but in the first instance its appeal had been addressed to the intellect alone. Newman's sermons and Ward's dialectic had forced their disciples to think. But the ability to think—at least, to think to much purpose—is not found in every one, and, even where it exists, it sometimes needs to be set in action by the eye. This, at all events, was the conviction of the early "Ritualists," and, acting on it, they devoted much of their energies to the extension of ceremonial. Men, they argued, have to be brought to believe in the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, to believe that CHRIST is really present in the Elements, and really offered on our altars. This can only be done by accustoming them to pay to the Blessed Sacrament all the marks of reverence which they would pay to an earthly sovereign if they were introduced into his immediate presence. There was very little in the ritual of the altar, as it then survived in the Church of England, to make this kind of impression; yet without it there was no chance of bringing men to accept the Eucharistic doctrine which the Oxford Movement had tried to present to them.

There was another consideration which led

them to give ritual this new place in their plans. The Movement had all along been sacerdotal in its aims. The first number of the *Tracts for the Times* had urged the clergy to make much of the gift they had received at their Ordination, to keep it before their minds as an honourable badge far higher than secular respectability, or cultivation, or polish, or learning, or rank. How were they to carry out this injunction? How were they to present themselves to their flocks in their true character? The answer was that, while the Roman Catholic and the Tractarian rested the clerical claim on the same grounds, there had been a marked difference in their presentation of it. Clothes are nothing in themselves. A judgment of the Court of King's Bench would be equally valid if it was delivered by a judge in his robes, or by a judge in a shooting coat. But supposing that the claim of a particular body of judges to the powers and rights of their position were denied or ignored, it might be good policy for them to invest the exercise of their office with all the pomp that the judicial ermine could confer. This, at all events, was the reasoning of the many in the second generation of Tractarians. They maintained that they were as certainly Priests as though they had been ordained by the Pope in person, and, as this fact had been too long lost sight of, it was expedient to recall it to men's minds by every external circumstance. The vestments

and gestures of a Roman Priest, the aspect and decoration of a Roman altar, had for centuries told their own story. If Anglicans had the same story to tell, they could not do better than use the same language.

It is needless to recall the ridicule and misunderstanding which this new departure provoked. Beginners in ceremonial naturally attach exaggerated importance to trifles; they confound principles and applications. It was only to be expected, therefore, that the weaker heads among the ritualists should come to take a not very wise pleasure in magnifying, not so much their office, as its trappings. Some, perhaps, never outgrew this phase, but for the most part the love of embroidered stoles and ostentatious gestures passed away with youth, and the solid substance that underlay such extravagance was evidenced by much hard and thankless work done among the poor of our great towns. It is here, indeed, that the strength of the Movement in its more recent developments has chiefly lain. Mackonochie, Lowder, and Dolling, have been to the second stage of the Movement what Newman, Pusey, and Keble were to the first.[1]

[1] There is a passage in an article by Canon Scott Holland in the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1890, which puts the difference between the two generations of High Churchmen and the use made of it by opponents with admirable force and accuracy: "Diffusion carried the Movement far afield; it had to make adventurous experiments, often in

The second of the changes I am describing related to the position of High Churchmen in the Church of England, and the position of the Church of England in Christendom. In the first instance, the fact that the Church of England is established by law had been regarded simply as a hindrance to the proper assertion of her spiritual claims. Were she free from this bondage, she would either show herself at once in her true Catholic character, or by failing to do this forfeit her title to be a part of the Catholic Church. But, as time went on, it became clear that the Establishment was not the mere hindrance which High Churchmen had been accustomed to think it. On the contrary, it had, in some ways, been friendly, though only by accident, to the growth of the Movement. In a voluntary Church, the appearance of Tract 90 would almost certainly have called

young hands, under rough and irregular conditions. And then, of course, the children of those who had stoned Tractarianism were now ready to glorify their old foe at the expense of their new and swarming enemy. They spoke of the academic dignity, of the illustrious learning, of the lofty intellectual calibre, of the great leaders of Tractarianism. They scornfully contrasted with these great names the unknown crowd of clergy, fervent but ignorant, who were spreading the new Movement in lanes and slums. They were rash; they were reckless; they were silly. The Movement, once so dignified, was vulgarised." And then the Canon points out how the Movement in its new surroundings "might have got out of hand" had it not been saved by the support of Liddon and, as we may now add, of Church.

forth an authoritative interpretation of the Articles which would have excluded the sense which Newman had affixed to them. The Tractarians were saved by the practical immutability of the Prayer Book, and the immutability of the Prayer Book was secured by the connection with the State. To put an end to this connection was impossible, and, though, so long as it was impossible, much must of necessity remain unsettled, there was comfort in the thought that the Church was, at all events, protected against changes in the wrong direction.

As I have said elsewhere, all this "lightened the burden of individual responsibility. A man in chains cannot move as easily as one who has the free use of his limbs. As time went on, and the movement started into new and vigorous life, the temptation to despair of the Church of England grew weaker, and men came to think that those who had gone might have stayed where they were had they waited to see the fruit of the seed they had themselves sown. Reformations are not made in a day, sometimes not in a generation."

By the side of this change in mental attitude, came another which had its origin in the increase of communication with the near East. Englishmen became aware of the existence and, in some small degree, of the history, of the Orthodox Churches of the East. "In the early days of the Movement"—I am again quoting

myself—" the thoughts of men did not wander so far afield as Constantinople, or Jerusalem, or Moscow. They reasoned and spoke as though Rome and Canterbury divided Christendom between them. As their ecclesiastical horizon widened they found a third communion as ancient as Rome, as Protestant, in the strict sense of the term, as Canterbury. Thenceforward to become a Roman Catholic was not only to condemn a Church which in some of her aspects seemed to have hardly a link with Catholic antiquity left ; it was to put out of the ecclesiastical pale the most conservative of Christian Churches—the one which carries back her tradition to the furthest point and with the most unbroken continuity, and yet knows nothing of the Pope."

This wider outlook naturally involved a change in the reading of their duty by High Churchmen. The seceders of 1845 and 1851 seemed to themselves to have but one thing to do. The Roman Church was the pattern for English as well as for Roman Churchmen. Did the English Church conform to that pattern ? If not, could she be brought to conform to it ? Newman and Ward answered that question on different grounds, but with the same result. What divergence of doctrine had done for them, the Royal Supremacy, presented in visible shape by the action of the Judicial Committee in the Gorham case, did for Manning and James Hope.

The younger generation of High Churchmen approached these great questions in a different spirit. They were satisfied that the Church of England retained, though as by a miracle, the essential notes of Catholicity. The Prayer Book, though it might be but a pale and mutilated copy of the older Liturgies, had all that was necessary to make it a Liturgy. The Anglican Ministry traced its descent to the pre-Reformation hierarchy. The Eucharistic Sacrifice was still offered in Anglican churches, though the character of the rite had been obscured by wanton omissions. The Power of the Keys was still claimed and wielded in behalf of Anglican penitents. The Church of England had not been fairly judged by those who had demanded of her a degree of perfection which no Church on earth possesses. They had not read her history in the right spirit. They had not made the proper allowances for the conflict which the Catholics who all along clung to her had sustained, with varying fortunes, for three centuries. Again and again their defeat had seemed final; again and again the ruin had been averted, and the Catholic party had breathed again.

The disasters which had befallen the Oxford Movement had their counterparts in the past; but what Puritanism had failed to accomplish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what religious indifference had failed to accomplish in the eighteenth century,

Erastianism, if High Churchmen could help it, should not be suffered to do in the nineteenth century. The ritualists might have every failing that their enemies laid at their doors. They might be ignorant, wrong-headed, given to exaggerate the importance of trifles, impatient of authority, convinced of their own superiority to wiser and better men. But, when all that could fairly be urged against them, and a good deal more, had been said, they could at least make good their claim to two virtues which make up for many faults. They could fight, and they could stand defeat with no thought of giving in. This has been the character of the ritualists for nearly half a century, and to their possession of this character the later successes of the High Church party are largely due. It is no new event in ecclesiastical history. S. Paul looked back to something of the same kind when he wrote that "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty, and base things of the world, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are."

It was not possible but that Church should regard the men of the new school with very mixed feelings. While he was at Whatley he had been, as he himself said, "an outsider." Into that peaceful parish only distant echoes of the strife going on in London had found

their way. He had never been intimate with Pusey, and he does not seem to have kept up any regular intercourse with Keble.

"Of the younger men into whose hands the later development of the Movement had fallen," says his daughter, "he knew but little. . . . It was not until he came to S. Paul's that he was in any way brought into personal relationship with the ritualist party, and then his appreciation of their work could not hinder a sense of much that was provoking and extravagant in their teaching." It would have been strange if it had hindered it. Rather it might be expected to stimulate it.

The faults of friends, and the disasters to which they sometimes lead, are hard to bear; and if Church could have infused his own temper into the ritualists they would have avoided many mistakes. Moreover these mistakes were of a kind specially calculated to irritate him. The ritualists were often self-willed; they formed their conclusions from a very imperfect knowledge of history; they made their devotion to the ancient Church a reason for adopting as an integral part of Catholic tradition practices which, however edifying they might be in themselves, had no higher title to acceptance than a Roman custom some two centuries old; they set small store by the distinctive characteristic of the Church of England—her reluctance to close questions so long as they can fairly be left

open. This last was probably the feature in the new school which the Dean found hardest to bear with. Confident speech about things, as to which the knowledge that alone can justify confident speech has not been vouchsafed, always came as a shock to his balanced and reverent mind. His attitude on this point is well expressed in a letter of 1889 : "Without being a sceptic or an agnostic, one may feel that there are questions in the world which never will be answered on this side the grave, perhaps not on the other. It was the saying of an old Greek, in the very dawn of thought, that men would meet with many surprises when they were dead. Perhaps one will be the recollection that, when we were here, we thought the ways of Almighty GOD so easy to argue about."

"Perhaps not on the other"—there could be no truer expression of Church's profound sense of the gulf between the Creator and the creature, between Omniscience and human faculties even at the highest conceivable point of their development. But it would have been equally unlike the Dean if he had allowed this sense of what was "provoking and extravagant" in the ritualists to blind him to what was good in them. This double feeling is exactly expressed in a letter to Pusey, written in 1873 : "I feel that some of these younger men, whom I cannot go along with, are so very much my superiors, and beyond my

criticism in their devotion and earnestness. But I dread to think what the end may be from self-will and ὕβρις, when otherwise, in spite of everything, there seems more hope than I can see anywhere else."

CHAPTER IX.

The Public Worship Regulation Act.

THE history of the Public Worship Regulation Act has been told by the present Archbishop of Canterbury in his *Life of Archbishop Tait*. It was the work of several hands, and underwent an unusual amount of alteration in its various stages—alterations which, as we can now see, made it a far less mischievous measure than it would have been in its earlier and seemingly more innocent form. It is possible, and I think just, to hold that, though Archbishop Tait was wrong, alike in his estimate of the ecclesiastical situation and in the treatment he sought to apply to it, it would in the then state of public feeling have been impossible to do anything useful, and yet very difficult to do nothing. Lord Shaftesbury had brought in Ecclesiastical Courts Bills session after session. One of them had been sent down from the Lords in 1872. It reached the Commons too late to be gone on with, but the debate on it had drawn from Mr. Gladstone an admission that there was an urgent case for legislation. A conviction of

this kind is always dangerous when those who desire legislation are not agreed upon the character of the legislation needed. In this case High Churchmen wanted to give something of a spiritual character to the Court of Final Appeal in ecclesiastical causes; Low Churchmen wanted to suppress what they held to be illegal ritual; the Bishops wanted to revive their *forum domesticum*, "with just so much of coercive force added as seemed necessary to meet the changed circumstances of modern times;" the public at large wanted to put down whatever they happened most to dislike at the moment, whether it was doctrine or ceremony. An agreement of this kind makes the promise of legislation easy, but its performance exceedingly difficult. However urgent legislation may be, when it is wanted for at least four incompatible ends, three of them must go unsatisfied. In the ecclesiastical comedy of 1874 the Bishops were the first to occupy the stage. They met at Lambeth on January 12 and 13, and committed to the two Archbishops the duty of drawing up a Bill. As first drafted this measure had nothing in common with the proposals which eventually became law. The most extreme High Churchman could not have excluded the Privy Council from any share in ecclesiastical decisions more completely than the Archbishops proposed to do.

A Board, composed of three incumbents elected by the clergy, and five lay Churchmen

elected by the churchwardens, with the Chancellor, the Dean and the Archdeacon as *ex-officio* members, was to be set up in every diocese, and to this Board any complaint relating to ritual was to be referred. If, after taking all the circumstances into account, and if necessary hearing evidence, the Board were of opinion that proceedings should be taken against the accused clergyman, the Bishop was directed to issue such admonition or order as he deemed necessary, and this order was to have the force of law, unless the clergyman to whom it was addressed should appeal against it to the Archbishop. In that case the Archbishop was to hear the appeal in person, and, with the aid of his Vicar-General, to confirm or annul the Bishop's admonition. From this decision of the Archbishop there was to be no appeal. Archbishop Tait's biographer sees "no reason to doubt" that a Bill based on these lines might have been carried through Parliament, if the Archbishops had been able to show that they were supported by the clergy generally without distinction of party. But in order to obtain the support of the clergy generally, the division between Church parties must have been effaced, and as in the modern Church of England these divisions are unusually acute, and at that time showed every sign of growing more so, this condition was not one that could be satisfied. At the moment it even seemed possible that these divisions would be added to by an open avowal

by Dr. Pusey of his dislike and distrust of the ritualists. The first result of the Archbishop's project was to avert this misfortune. Pusey saw that the Bill would give the Bishops power to determine ritual disputes for themselves, and he felt no doubt—the composition of the episcopate being what it was—that this would mean the summary enforcement of the recent decisions of the Judicial Committee. Nor is it easy to see how it could have meant anything else. Archbishop Tait, indeed, pleaded that no question of law would be referred to the Diocesan Boards. They would only decide whether the Bishop ought to issue a monition. But if the law was plainly broken, how could a Board avoid the conclusion that a monition ought to be issued, and in ascertaining whether the law had been broken, what could the Diocesan Board take as law except the decisions of the Court of Final Appeal ?

Owing to Mr. Gladstone's unexpected dissolution of Parliament, the Bill was not introduced till the 20th of April. By that time it was clear that it had very few supporters, either in the House of Commons or the country. High Churchmen had drawn together, and were now for the time united in opposing it. Low Churchmen remembered with regret the drastic legislation again and again attempted by Lord Shaftesbury. In the Lords, however, the Bill at first commanded a majority. There was no division on the

Second Reading, and the motion to go into Committee was carried by a majority of 110.

In the Committee stage Archbishop Tait's project—his "revolutionary" project, as Church called it—took on a wholly new character. Among the many notices of amendments there stood in the name of Lord Shaftesbury a series of new clauses which aimed at effecting a complete change in the character and object of the Bill. Lord Shaftesbury held that the Archbishop's proposals were no better than "so much waste paper." He had no faith in clerical judges, and his amendments put on one side not only the personal jurisdiction of Bishop and Archbishop, which the Bill in its earlier form proposed to set up, but also the historical Provincial Courts. The Dean of the Arches and the Judge of the Chancery Court of York disappeared, and in their place came a lay judge, appointed by the two Archbishops, and exercising in his own single person all the powers it was proposed to create by the Bill. As the effect of these amendments, if carried, would be to take the Bill out of the hands of its authors, it became necessary for them to consider whether they should accept or reject Lord Shaftesbury's re-casting of their measure. To reject it was to risk not merely the loss of the Bill, but its being passed over the heads of the episcopate with whatever additions the Protestant zeal of the House of Commons might see fit to make to it. To accept the

amendments was to make themselves responsible for proposals which were the direct contrary of those they themselves had drafted. The *forum domesticum*, the Diocesan Board, the appeal to the Archbishop, would all disappear. There was to be no consideration of local circumstances. The letter of the law was everywhere to be enforced. The Archbishops were plainly in a very tight place. It had become known to them that the new clauses standing in Lord Shaftesbury's name were in part the work of the Lord Chancellor,[1] and would in all probability have the support of the Government. They could not count on any effective lay help in resisting amendments which had the support of Lord Salisbury, Lord Selborne, and Lord Bath. The majority of the Bishops either went with Lord Shaftesbury or were prepared to make the Archbishops' choice their own. In the end they decided to oppose the new clauses in debate, but to vote for them if they were satisfied that they would be carried.

With our present knowledge of what has happened since 1874, it is difficult to understand Archbishop Tait's point of view. By helping to pass the Public Worship Regulation Bill in the form which Lord Shaftesbury had given it, he was doing two things which could hardly be to his real mind. He was widening the breach between the High Church party and the law; he was helping to give that party a degree of

[1] Lord Cairns.

union from which it was, in the end, to derive a substantial increase of strength. But in 1874 much that is plain now was still obscure. High Churchmen had not yet realised the greatness of the conflict which had been forced upon them. The revolution made by the Bill in the character and claims of the Provincial Courts was not understood even by Pusey. More than two years after the passing of the Act he wrote: "I do not see how the appointment by Act of Parliament vitiates the authority of the court in which Lord Penzance presides." And again: "I do not see any difference which the Public Worship Bill makes except that it makes shorter work (they say). Lord Penzance was appointed by the two Archbishops, Sir Robert Phillimore by one."

Again the Bill had the warm support of Bishop Thirlwall, who was better qualified perhaps than any of his brethren to weigh the value of popular movements. "Besides," he wrote, "the immediate good effect which may be expected from it in checking the license of innovation, it has brought to light some things . . . which I regard as in the highest degree cheering and hopeful." Moreover, if the Archbishop had voted against the amendments, he might not have been able to retain the clause leaving to each Bishop an absolute discretion as to the use of the veto. Nobody indeed can lay any claim to foresight as regards the future of this singular Act. Mr. Disraeli supported

it because it would "put down ritualism," and he believed that ritualism was unpopular. Mr. Gladstone detested it because it would make the Church of England completely Erastian. But neither was more at fault than Archbishop Tait, who hoped that it would strengthen the authority of the Bishops. The only gainers by it have been the people against whom it was directed. It needed the prosecutions instituted under the Act to bring High Churchmen together. It needed the imprisonments suffered under the Act to make prosecutions odious. It needed the near prospect of deprivations, with the harvest of canonical difficulties which they could not but yield, to bring home to the ecclesiastical authorities the need of undoing, so far as was possible, their own handiwork.

CHAPTER X.

Strife in the Church.

UNTIL now the Dean of S. Paul's had taken no active part in the ecclesiastical conflict. The necessity of doing so was exceedingly distasteful to him, both because he saw much in the conduct of those whose cause he espoused that offended his finer sense, and because it involved a painful disagreement with Lord Blachford, his dear and intimate friend. But the Public Worship Regulation Bill seemed to him to make further hesitation impossible. "The truth is," he said, "in a battle you must fight," and, when fighting became a duty, the Dean threw himself into the conflict with as much resolution as if he had once more been living in the eventful days of his Proctorship. He was equally hostile to the Bill in both its forms. The original project he could only regard with amazement. It was wonderful that the Archbishop should ever have asked Parliament for such vast powers. It was equally wonderful that he should have imagined that he was going to restore peace and uniformity by using them.

But Church entered the battle with no love [illegible] the work and not much hope of success.

In a letter to his brother dated July, 1874, he draws a contrast between the position of the Church at the beginning of the year and at midsummer. In January she "stood for the strongest and most hopeful Church in Christendom." In July he could only say that "the ignorance of some, the pride of others, the suspicious injustice of even wise and good men have brought things to a pass when those who for fifty years have been steadily disbelieving in a break-up have come to look at it face to face." Possibly the fact that he found himself almost for the first time differing from Lord Blachford increased this sense of the acuteness of the crisis.

Lord Blachford advised the acceptance of the new procedure created by the Act. He disliked the new court, but he thought it good enough to beat a ritualist with. In consideration of the work it was to do he was willing to overlook its purely secular character and the "barefaced fiction"—the phrase is Liddon's—of which Lord Penzance took advantage in order to call himself "an Ecclesiastical Judge in the same sense that Sir R. Phillimore was." Lord Blachford's divergence from the Dean meant the divergence of the *Guardian* also, and for the next nine years Church ceased to contribute to its columns. Lord Blachford always wrote strongly on any

ject which interested him, and the impression which the paper, under his guidance, made on High Churchmen may be gathered from a letter of Liddon's in 1877 : "The *Guardian*, as usual, goes in for pure and (so to put it) brutal Erastianism."

Church's long separation from active affairs made him, however, a too-despondent observer of events. There is a curious contrast between his letter to his brother quoted above and one of Liddon's in the same month. "Of course," writes the latter, "there is no reason for despondency. No legislature can really destroy a religious conviction, except by exterminating its holders. It is historically too late to do that, and we shall live to see the drowned Egyptians on the sea-shore even yet." Liddon indeed gauged the real value of House of Commons Protestantism with remarkable accuracy. "Numbers of people have been supporting the Bill in order to prove to their middle-class Protestant constituents that they wish to be doing something." That has been the temper of the House on more than one occasion since, and each time the fact that members have voted for a strong Bill has for the moment saved their credit with their supporters.

In his correspondence with Lord Blachford Church naturally goes as far as he can towards agreement with his friend. He does not deny the many faults which were visible on the

ritualist side, nor pretend that he agrees with the ritualist position at all points. "If it were a mere question of keeping order and restraining absurdity," he writes immediately after the passing of the Bill, "I should go along with you quite." He agrees that there is need for warnings against "effeminacy and excess." He is ready to admit "the fact of acceptance by the Church of State interference and control." "I am sufficiently prone to scepticism," he adds, "to doubt all absolute theories as to right on either side. It has always been a matter of arrangement according to circumstances and the force which each side had." But these qualifying considerations were not allowed to exercise any real influence on his ultimate course. That was determined by a feature in his character which is well described by the Bishop of Oxford. "Patient as he was, he could be angry when need came; angry with a quiet and self-possessed intensity which made his anger very memorable. The sight of injustice, of strength or wealth presuming on its advantages, of insolence—(a word that came from his lips with a peculiar ring and emphasis)—called out in him something like the passion that has made men patriots when their people were oppressed, something of that temper which will always make tyranny insecure and persecution hazardous."[1]

[1] *Life and Letters.* Preface p. xxi.

Canon Scott Holland enables us to see exactly how this temper came out in the ritual controversies—controversies in themselves so unlike those in which he had taken a foremost part a generation earlier. "There was a sense in him of holding a fort against grim odds, which survived out of the perilous days, and which kept him on the watch lest the attack should swing back his way. . . . Little as he himself would find it to his taste to enter into the battle over rubrics and ceremonies, he recognised the necessity that threw the stress of the fight upon these points when once the theological Movement had passed out of Oxford quadrangles to the streets of crowded cities. His name, as much as any, forced those in authority to recognise that it was no affair of millinery or external ritual which they were labouring to repress."

When we turn to the letters to Lord Blachford, with this description to guide us, we see it verified at every point. The ritual controversy involved more than the question of obedience to courts as interpreters of law. There was another question behind this one—"the question why the courts were created, how they have interpreted the law, what is the policy which the Governors of the Church have thought it necessary to pursue in respect to a party or a set of opinions in the Church."

The Public Worship Regulation Act must be judged by its history as well as by its actual

contents. And, when so judged, it proved to have the common vice of Bills of Attainder. It was an effort to put down an unpopular party—and that a party "which has as much to say for itself as any other in the Church, which has done good service to the Church and which, provoking as it has often been, has had more than parties in English controversy usually have to provoke them"—not by the ordinary process of law, but by a new law specially created for the purpose. And this special creation had the special disadvantage of being the work of panic-stricken partizans. "No one can doubt what a legislative settlement of the dispute would be at present. It would be Hanoverians legislating for Jacobites." In other letters the Dean speaks even more plainly. He thinks that Churchmen have grave cause to complain of the way in which the law has been administered. When the ritualists have had common justice, "and not the judgments expressed by Lord Penzance on the motion of outsiders and the Church Association," it will be time enough to think of protesting against them. The Dean was not a man given to epithets. But the combined action of the Bishops, "frightened by a movement which they have not tried to understand or govern," the Archbishop, and the Law Courts seems to him to be not only exasperating and impolitic but "unjust, unconstitutional, and oppressive."

In 1877 his sense of the mischief which this state of things was doing made him doubt whether he ought not to give expression to it in some way more forcible than words. Ought he not to resign the Deanery? It was a question, he held, whether submission and waiting were as clear duties as most people imagined them. He was watching the deliberate pursuit of a policy which he thought "unjust, encroaching, and unconstitutional." Yet he himself was in a place of honour and emolument where he could do nothing, and where "silence and compliance" might be supposed to be prompted by private motives. He was troubled by no doubts about the English Church. "It has defects and anomalies in plenty, but so has every Church that I know of or ever heard of. And there is in it a vigour, a power of recovery, and an increasing value for what is good and true, which I see nowhere else." What he was doubtful about was not his duty to himself but his duty to the Church. "I am in great perplexity"—he writes to the present Bishop of Southwark,[1] then Warden of Keble—"as to what I ought to do, remembering that the Church never gains by what looks like inconsistency and weak compliance by her ministers who have a considerable stake to lose." Public interests were the main thing he had to consider, and to them, "up to a certain point, a man is bound to sacrifice his character and

[1] Dr. Talbot.

reputation — everything but his truth and honour." But in this case the actual difficulty lay in deciding what the public interests were. If the prosecutions went on, there would be only one remedy, "and that is something that will clear the air, even at the cost of some present sacrifice and trouble to the Church. With all the terrible losses of 1845, I am not sure that without them we should have done as well as we have. They awed people, and made them think; and gave time for the latent strength of the Church to grow quietly."

In 1880 something of the same feeling remained. The immediate want was still that an end should be put to prosecutions, and that the Bishops should "stand forward as the upholders of fair liberty." If they could not concede this "reasonable and generous toleration," they would have to "make up their minds to seeing men who are not ritualists refusing to share any longer the dishonour of an administration so partial and unjust." The chief difficulty all through lay with Archbishop Tait. He could not be brought to believe that quiet men, who were not ritualists, were in earnest and would not stand his policy. "With all his shrewdness, he does not know the English clergy," and he is told by "the newspapers and the clubs and people alike . . . that he has the 'people of England' at his back, and none but a few malcontents and dreamers to deal with." If Church or anyone else approached

him, he "would only think of putting us into difficulties, which it is easy enough to do . . . and would send us away satisfied that we are very unpractical people."

By this time, however, the charge of being unpractical was becoming less deserved. Church was now willing to leave the Privy Council where it was, so that it were recognised to be purely a secular court. But there must be a purely spiritual Court of Appeal on doctrine and discipline, and "I don't see what we can have but one of Bishops, either representative or as a body. . . . Of course anyone can see the risk. But what else can we propose in principle?" At this point the Dean contributed to the controversy one of his rare letters to the *Times*. In this he first describes "the short and easy method of dealing with the ritualists" which found favour with the ecclesiastical authorities then, and has been the foundation of all similar attacks since, both in and out of Parliament. English clergymen are ministers of an Established Church. That is the assailant's first position, and it has the initial advantage that even a ritualist cannot deny it. But at this point a very large assumption has to be slipped in, in order to prepare the way for the inference that, being ministers of an Established Church, the clergy are bound, like any other public functionaries, to "submit to all that Parliament orders." This assumption is that an Established Church

means a State Church, and that a State C
means a Church "deriving all its rights, d
and powers from Parliament." If this assu
tion be denied—"if the Church be suppose
have an existence and powers of its own be
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between the Church and the State was originall
effected, and how far these terms "have bee
observed on either side." If the Church has
nothing but what the State gives it, the popular
view of the action of the clergy is quite
intelligible.

"Mutinous ecclesiastics and bad citizens are too light terms of condemnation for those who defy the law of England, and throw all the social order into confusion, which they are specially sworn and paid to maintain." But if this view is the true one, "it will follow that all that is found in the books of the greatest masters of religious teaching, in all Churches and sects, about the nature of the Christian Church, is ranting nonsense." No doubt many people, from Sir William Harcourt downwards, have said with varying degrees of plainness, that this is just what the High Church case is. But they have never yet produced the evidence which their contention presupposes. They have brought forward all manner of instruments by which the State has claimed the right to regulate

hurch, to define the relation in which it is to
l for the future to the Crown, to Parliament,
he Courts of Law. But we are still waiting
the production of the instrument by which
State created the Church, and in its absence
h Churchmen, and, for the matter of that,
y Low Churchmen also, will continue to hold
t the Church of England is a State Church
ly in the sense that she has surrendered
uch of her liberty of action in return for
rivileges which have enabled her to do her
proper work better. That is all that Establishment rightly means. That is all it means in Scotland, and all that it has meant till now in France. If it is to mean more in England, "I think it will follow"—this is the closing sentence of the Dean's letter—"that three-fourths of the English clergy, if they are the men I take them to be, will say that such a State Church was not the Church which they believed themselves to be serving and defending, or a Church which it would be possible for them to accept."

This was written in December, 1880. By the end of the following month the conviction thus expressed had received partial confirmation from the fact that a Memorial to the Archbishop in favour of toleration and forbearance in dealing with questions of ritual had been signed by more than two thousand clergy. That was not "three-fourths of the English clergy." But it was Church's impression—and it was not his way to form impressions lightly—that this Memorial

was largely signed for want of something stronger. "I have been surprised," he writes to Copeland, "at the extent to which indignation and alarm have penetrated among the clergy. I am quite sure that if any man with a name had put forth a strong declaration, undertaking under no circumstances to recognise Lord Penzance or the rulings of the Privy Council, it would at once have attracted more and more enthusiastic signatures than our paper. There was a time, three weeks ago, when lifting a finger would almost have been a signal for revolt."[1] And then follows a half-regretful doubt whether it would not have been better to let the current gather more strength before arresting it. "Our paper has averted that: whether we have been wise I do not know." Nor could he see what was to come of the Address. It might bring a Royal Commission, and at any rate no Bishop would for the moment "be forward to employ Lord Penzance, except to scold and preach to drunken parsons." But the Archbishop's alarm would probably pass away, and while he was in office no reform of the courts was to be looked for. One of these forecasts quickly proved true. A Royal Commission to enquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts was appointed only a few weeks later. The second —the fleeting character of the Archbishop's uneasiness at a state of things of the seriousness

[1] *Life and Letters*, p. 287.

of which he had only now become aware—turned out to be less accurate. The Archbishop's alarm did not pass away, or rather it only did so to give place to a nobler feeling—that of genuine anxiety to leave a legacy of peace to the distracted Church.

In the closing months of 1882 something like a truce of God was proclaimed, largely by Archbishop Tait's own action, and when he died, on the morning of Advent Sunday, there seemed a reasonable hope that the storm of ritual prosecution had spent its force.

But a good deal had happened between January, 1881, and December, 1882. At the beginning of the latter year the Dean still saw but little hope of any improvement. The most pressing question at the moment was the continued imprisonment of Mr. Green, of Miles Platting. In June, 1879, Lord Penzance had admonished him to discontinue certain alleged ritual offences, and two months later Mr. Green had been inhibited for three months. In August, 1880, he was pronounced contumacious and in contempt, and on March 13, 1881, he was imprisoned. Unsuccessful efforts to set aside this decree were made in the Court of Queen's Bench, the Court of Appeal, and the House of Lords, but at the beginning of 1882 Mr. Green was still in Lancaster Castle. The Archbishop did not see his way to interfere unless Mr. Green would make what amounted to a submission. To the Dean this refusal

seemed conclusive evidence of inability to understand that the time had come when an Archbishop of Canterbury must do either more or less than temporise with the ritualists. If they were what the Church Association declared them to be, they ought to be expelled from the Church of England at whatever risk and whatever their personal merits. If the Archbishop was not prepared to do this, he should let them alone. The issue, the Dean thought, had ceased to be one of obedience or disobedience on the part of a particular man. It had become a war between parties in which one party tried to extinguish the other, while that other defended itself as best it could. Mr. Green's unconditional release ought to satisfy his opponents, since he would have been punished for his ritualism more severely than many criminal offenders against the law.

Archbishop Tait, of course, looked at the matter in a different light. In 1874 the Legislature had decided to change the form of the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In this effort the nation had shown itself to be thoroughly in accord with Parliament, and but for the free use of the episcopal veto prosecutions would have been greatly multiplied. The Bishops had prevented this in all except a very few cases, and it was a mistaken policy on the part of High Churchmen to call more attention than they could help to the few suits which the Bishops had been unable to stop. The

point at which this common-sense reasoning broke down was that it took no account of the determination of High Churchmen to put up with nothing less than open and avowed recognition. A timid party with no strong grasp of its own convictions might be content to have its existence winked at. But the High Church party were neither timid nor uncertain of their position, and they were resolved that this position should be frankly recognised. That is a consummation to which they have not fully attained even now, and they were farther still from it in 1882. But a very important step was soon to be made in the desired direction, and that by the very Archbishop whose failure to see the need of it the Dean had just been lamenting.

CHAPTER XI.

The Truce of God.

THE first sign of any desire on the part of Archbishop Tait to reconsider the policy of 1874 is to be found in a speech at a Ruri-decanal Conference at Westbere, in the Isle of Thanet, on December 14, 1881. "While," he said, "we have many and discordant attacks made on our present system of ecclesiastical legislature and judicature, no one that I am aware of has come forward, as representing those who are dissatisfied, to advocate a scheme of practicable reform such as appears likely to command the general assent of our clergy and laity. . . . What I wish to commend to all who are agitated by recent events is this: that they should calmly ask themselves definitely what they want."

An amusing passage in the Archbishop's diary, on December 26, gives some results of this invitation. "I have been receiving this week many suggestions in answer to what I said in Westbere Deanery. One says: 'Restore the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., that is, in plain English, repeal all the

Acts of Uniformity.' Another says: 'Abolish all existing courts, and establish courts of Bishops and clergy.' And another: 'Let Diocesan Synods decide all cases.' 'There is no use doing anything,' says another, 'till the Church appoints her Archbishops'—whatever that may mean. 'Follow,' says another, 'the wise example of the Scottish Episcopal Church, where everything is decided by a Synod of Bishops. Nothing can be more peaceable and harmonious, for did not this Synod contain that noble High Church divine, Bishop Forbes, and at the same time that eccentric Broad Churchman, Bishop Ewing?' The writer forgets that the first of these divines was condemned and censured by this harmonious Synod, and that Bishop Ewing was perpetually harassed by threats of condemnation, from which nothing but his personal popularity and influence among the laity, especially in England, saved him."

All these suggestions had the common fault of over-haste and over-definiteness. They started with the assumption that it was possible, and therefore right, to do something at once, and that the only obstacle in the way of such action was want of agreement as to what this something should be.

The Dean of S. Paul's took a different line. The Memorial of January, 1881, boldly asked the Bishops to be content to do nothing. The policy "demanded alike by justice and the best

interests of religion" was "a distinctly avowed policy of toleration and forbearance in dealing with questions of ritual." Either a "rigid observance of the rubrical law of the Church should be equally exacted from all parties; or it should no longer be exacted from one party alone." With a tolerant recognition of divergent ritual practice, a breathing-space would be secured, in which to approach the only real cure of present troubles, the construction of Ecclesiastical Courts which would "secure the conscientious obedience of clergymen who believe the constitution of the Church of CHRIST to be of Divine appointment, and who protest against the State's encroachments upon rights assured to the Church of England by solemn Acts of Parliament."

This Memorial went far beyond an earlier document of the same character, which the Dean had, in person, presented to the Archbishop in 1874. That also was directed against the "enforcement of a rigid uniformity in the conduct of Divine worship," but it dwelt especially on the unwisdom of attempting this in regard to the Eastward position, and a "distinctive Eucharistic dress." The reason for singling out these two points was the uncertainty of recent interpretations of the rubrics. To any plain man, "standing before the table" meant standing with the back to the people; and the ornaments in use in the second year of Edward VI. meant something

more than the surplice. Until this obscurity could be cleared up, it was useless to expect that the law would be obeyed. No amount of judicial eminence will give conclusive force to a decision that black is white.

The six years that intervened between the two Declarations, and the experience of their opponents' temper which the party attacked had gained, had shown the necessity of a wider toleration—a toleration which should cover all the questions in dispute, instead of stopping short at this or that diversity of practice. What the Church wanted was an interval of quiet in which to understand and adapt herself to the change she had undergone. The need of 1881 is the need of 1905. The interval of a quarter of a century has only emphasised the contention of the Memorial that the recognised toleration of even wide diversities of ceremonial is alone consistent with the well-being of the English Church at the present time. All else is disruption.

The indignation aroused in High Churchmen by the spectacle of the prolonged imprisonments which followed upon disobedience to Lord Penzance's monitions was shared to the full by Church. But he never allowed it to blind him to the consequences that might easily follow upon a truce concluded in haste. At the end of December, 1881, there was some talk of Mr. Green being let out if he would consent to go abroad for a time. The Dean was

altogether opposed to any compromise which rested on an assumption that something was to be done which was not to appear in the formal record of the arrangement. Understandings, the Dean thought, were sure to lead to mistakes and entanglements. Mr. Green's release should be unconditional on both sides.

Imprisonment, however, was not the only penalty incurred by disobedience to Lord Penzance. It was merely an incidental accompaniment of the real penalty. Whether Mr. Green remained in prison, or was taken out, the time would come when, under the Public Worship Regulation Act, he would be deprived of his benefice. And in this particular he did not stand alone. Three other holders of benefices were threatened with Deprivation for substantially the same offence. The prosecutions had never been much liked by the public, and there was no disposition to welcome any renewal of them. But there was equally little disposition to interfere with those which had run their natural course. In a short time, therefore, there would be four parishes in which a Priest, invested by the Bishop with the cure of souls, and, as High Churchmen held, not deprived of it by the laws ecclesiastical, would be confronted by an intruding Priest wrongly invested by the Bishop with the cure of the same souls. To the public this was an unimportant matter—a thing to

be regretted, no doubt, but regretted only as the natural consequence of an unfortunate but unavoidable state of affairs. There were others, however, who looked a little deeper, and to them the danger of a schism seemed real and near. In these four parishes there would be rival claimants to the cure of souls, each performing the duties of the Parish Priest. A section of High Churchmen would certainly feel bound to stand by the unlawfully-deprived Incumbent. They might regret that he had not resigned the benefice, and so prevented matters from coming to this pass; but this would not make the newly-appointed Vicar less an intruder. Such a situation as this would be full of dangers which could be neither foreseen nor guarded against—dangers to the spiritual efficiency of the Church of England, dangers to her position as an Establishment.

To the majority of High Churchmen it was a matter of urgent importance that things should not be suffered to run to this length. The result of the prosecutions had been to give the formal victory to their authors. The ritual attacked had been pronounced illegal, and the condemned clergy would shortly be deprived. But the moral result of the prosecutions had been to discredit this method of enforcing the law as laid down by the Judicial Committee, and so—as there was no other method of enforcing it—to make the law thus laid down a dead letter. In these circum-

stances, the wise policy was to induce the four Incumbents to resign their livings, and, as a preliminary, to ensure that their congregations should not suffer by their retirement.

At this point the Dean was able to give invaluable help. The Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's were the patrons of S. Alban's, Holborn, and they were willing to present Mr. Suckling to the living in the event of its being left vacant by Mr. Mackonochie. Further, the patrons of S. Peter's, London Docks, were willing to present Mr. Mackonochie, in the event of Mr. Suckling's resignation. The Chapter of S. Paul's are entitled to their full share of praise for an arrangement which did so much to restore peace to the Church, and to avert greater dangers. But the action of the Chapter would hardly have carried the necessary weight, if there had not been at their head a man of Church's exceptional qualifications.

Everybody knows the kind of objections which spring up when circumstances seem to demand from a committee an act of unusual courage, and the cumulative force which these objections exert over ordinary minds. The Bishop of London had to be brought to acquiesce in an arrangement by which the intention of an Act of Parliament was to be defeated, to institute a "contumacious" Priest, and to sanction an exchange which would perpetuate an illegal ceremonial in two

churches. Quite apart from the difficulty of persuading the Bishop to do these things, there was the difficulty of inducing a small body of clergymen to ask him to do them. Alike by position, by antecedents, and by character, Church was the one man who could approach the task with good hope of success. Resolution was needed, both to decide upon the line to be taken, and to ensure union in the Chapter which had to take it. Reputation and influence were needed to recommend that line to outsiders. Church had all these things, and by virtue of them the arrangement was put in train. Even then, however, it seemed quite possible that it might miscarry. The Bishop might have scruples about instituting either of the clergy concerned; the clergy concerned might have scruples about lending themselves to what some of their friends might, and did, regard as a colourable evasion of their ecclesiastical responsibilities.

Though to go on defending an untenable position is an offence against military law, "Hold the fort" is an injunction which cannot be disregarded without a sacrifice. In Mackonochie's case these scruples threatened for some time to wreck the whole scheme, and they found countenance and support among some of his friends. It is always a difficult matter to convince a sensitive conscience that the easiest course is the right one, and

Mackonochie's character promised to make it additionally difficult. Happily the Archbishop's view of the situation had by this time undergone a change. He had come to understand more clearly what the consequences of Deprivation might be, and, when the prospect was frankly faced, it was not one which the Chief Pastor of the Church of England could contemplate with a light heart. When the time came for him to intervene, he did so with an effect which no lesser authority could have produced. It was probably owing to him that the Bishop of London raised no objection to the exchange of benefices; it was certainly owing to him that Mackonochie, in the end, disregarded the remonstrances of his friends and his own scruples, and sent in his resignation of S. Alban's.

All through this long and involved transaction Church's influence is plainly visible. It was he who gave its true importance to a matter which might have been put aside as interesting only to a few extreme partisans, and who realised that the issues involved concerned the foundation-principle of the High Church party. To acquiesce in the jurisdiction of the Privy Council in spiritual things, to recognise it as in any sense a spiritual court, to admit that its decrees ought to bind the consciences of the clergy, was tantamount to denying the Headship of CHRIST over His Church. If these theories were pressed, they could but break up the Church of

England. That was a consequence which men who had no sympathy with High Church views might greatly wish to avert, and to make it easy for Mackonochie to anticipate deprivation by resignation was to show how it could be averted.

The close of this year was to see another step on the Dean's part towards unity near home. Keble's funeral had impressed him with the differences between the Tractarians and the ritualists. Dr. Pusey's death was to draw together these two sections. On the 12th of December a Solemn Requiem for Dr. Pusey was held at S. Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square —the first, I believe, of a type of service which, under the influence alike of Christian piety and human affection, has now become exceedingly common. The Dean consented to preach the sermon, and the details of the ceremonial were submitted to him by Lord Halifax, then Mr. Charles Wood, in the course of those frequent interviews which the arrangement of Mackonochie's exchange rendered necessary. Even if no record remained of these meetings, it may be said with absolute confidence that the Dean would never have consented to take this prominent part in a perfectly novel service unless he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with its character. Church was no more a ritualist in 1882 than he had been thirty years before. But he had an unsurpassed faculty of discrimination between what

was essential and what was unimportant, and his historical sense had taught him the inevitable ruin that awaits those who cannot lay aside minor differences in presence of a common foe. In the end the sermon was not preached, as the cold and fog of December, added to the fatigue of a long sermon as Select Preacher at Oxford, had forced the Dean to give up all his engagements. But it is one of those cases in which the announcement was as good as the fulfilment.

This same year saw the renewal of the Dean's contributions to the *Guardian*. They had been discontinued when the ritual difficulty became acute, owing to the difference of opinion between him and Lord Blachford as to the line to be taken in regard to them. From this time the Dean again wrote articles and reviews, and he was constantly consulted on ecclesiastical matters as they arose. Indeed from the summer of 1883 to the early winter of 1890 the volumes of the *Guardian* form the best record of his opinions on the various controversies in which Churchmen were interested.[1]

[1] It will not, I hope, be impertinent if I add here a fragment of personal history. When I was offered the editorship of the *Guardian*, in the spring of 1883, I went to arrange matters with Lord Blachford, who was then the managing proprietor, and since Mr. Mountague Bernard's death had been the real, though not the nominal, editor. As to the political line to be taken, we were in substantial agreement, but when the conversation turned to ecclesiastical questions, I, being quite ignorant of the recent history of

The "truce of God" was twice broken in the Dean's lifetime—in 1887 by the Bell Cox case, in 1889 by the prosecution of the Bishop of Lincoln. The former "greatly disturbed and distressed" him. It was an undefended case, and the judgment decided nothing fresh in the way of ritual. But as it came in a time of profound quiet, and resulted in the imprisonment of the defendant for contempt of Lord Penzance's court, it excited more indignation than the earlier cases. In this indignation the Dean fully shared. "This Bell Cox case," he writes to Archbishop Benson, "has come home to my sense of justice far more strongly than any of the previous imprisonments. They were in the thick of battle, and of hot blood. This comes after all has cooled down."

Nor was it the wantonness of the prosecution alone that touched him. It was the change in the general situation not in England only, but in Christendom. Every year, the Dean felt, brought new and formidable dangers to all

the paper, thought it enough to say that on these matters I proposed to be guided by the Dean of S. Paul's. At this Lord Blachford gave a long whistle, and then said, "I see you don't know that for some years past the Dean and I have been divided on these questions." After this we were both silent, and I supposed that the negotiation was at an end. In a minute or two, however, Lord Blachford said, "Very well, then, I suppose we must let that pass," and the appointment was made. He had evidently come to the conclusion that the line the *Guardian* had taken in the ritual controversy could no longer be maintained.

religion. In England especially the old orthodoxy, the orthodoxy that Bishops and Heads of Houses had thought to preserve by worrying Newman out of the Church of England, had in a great measure disappeared. No part of the Christian Creed was safe from attack. Dignified clergy of the Church could "make open questions of the Personality of God, and the fact of the Resurrection, and the promise of immortality." The Dean had no desire to see these things put down by courts of law. But they could only be suffered to go unnoticed under cover, and as part, of a general policy of toleration. The just proportion of ecclesiastical offences would be altogether lost sight of if those who denied these great doctrines were left free to take their own course, while Mr. Bell Cox went to prison "for having lighted candles and mixing water with the wine."

No one who has read a line of Church's writing can suppose him to be careless about obedience, or ignorant of the function and value of law. The restoration of law, he writes, is the thing that "everybody ought to try for." But then it must be law "used for legitimate purposes, to put down real mischiefs, not to worry and disturb things which in a Church like ours ought to be left free." The Evangelical party had been the aggressive party for nearly forty years, and, if anything was to be done in the way of initiation of toleration, it

was they who would have to begin. "The Bishop of Liverpool,"[1] he said, "surely is as obnoxious to all High Churchmen as the Bishop of Lincoln[2] can be to any Low; yet he has not been attacked. . . . Will they let us have as much 'liberty of prophesying' and liberty of worship as the Bishop of Liverpool claims without legal interference?"

The reason why the Evangelical party could not grant what was asked of them was the strength of their tail—"the difficulty of all parties, from Corcyra to the Jacobins and the Parnellites." The prosecutions were viewed with little favour by the great body of Low Churchmen, partly because the ritualists were obviously gaining, not losing, by these repeated attacks; and partly from a genuine dislike to see men, many of whom they respected and liked, subjected to these recurrent annoyances.

No doubt the High Church party had its own tail, and its own difficulties arising from the action of that tail. But the High Church tail did not, while the Low Church tail did, want to worry other people; and this distinction saved the High Church party from disaster as well as from discredit. Except in rare moments of excitement, such as those which attended the passing of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act and the Public Worship Regulation Act, the English people are indifferent and consequently tolerant. Unfortunately, these occasional departures from

[1] Dr. Ryle. [2] Dr. King.

their customary attitude sometimes leave consequences behind them that do not so soon disappear. In the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, however, these fears proved to be unfounded. Archbishop Benson's Judgment, justifying a moderate Ritualism, was given in the closing month of the Dean's life, and it brought him "the last flash of happiness before the end." "It is the most courageous thing," he said, "that has come from Lambeth for the last two hundred years."

CHAPTER XII.

Letters.

NO sketch, even the slightest, of Church's life would be complete which did not mention his capacity for friendship. "One of the greatest of talents," he wrote to Dr. Talbot[1] in the last year of his life, "is having friends. I wish I had employed mine as it ought to have been employed." Others, however, were aware of no shortcomings in this respect. A reserved man among acquaintances, the Dean was proportionately frank with men whom he knew and loved. The chief continuous friendship of his life was Lord Blachford's. It began at Oxford; it ended with Lord Blachford's death, a year before his own, it was unimpared by differences upon ecclesiastical policy. The Dean's admiration for him was equal to his affection. "I never knew so *thorough* a man, high in his own standard, and true to friendship, even to the breaking-point." To this he adds the highest intellectual praise he could give, that "he counted for much more than people knew in

[1] Now Bishop of Southwark.

the original development of Newman's mind." In a notice of him which he wrote in the *Guardian* he describes how "those who had the privilege of his friendship" were "kept up in their standard and measure of duty by the consciousness of his opinion, his judgment, his eagerness to feel with them, his fearless, though it might be reluctant, expression of disagreement." Even more striking is a passage in a letter written shortly before Lord Blachford's death. "There are things and times for which there are no words, as when you spoke to me at Blachford about our friendship and thanked me. What could I say when I remembered the immense difference between your debt and mine, and what life and everything would have been without all that you had done for me and been to me?"

The friendship with Newman was only one degree less close, the difference being that it was suspended for some years after 1845. But the Dean's love for the Cardinal was in no way lessened by the separation, and when in 1864 Kingsley's attack "roused all the old affectionate loyalty" of Newman's friends, Church was first among those who pressed forward to offer all the help and support they could give. In the following year the two met for the first time for nearly twenty years, and in 1870 Newman came on a visit to Whatley. "You know," Church writes to Lord Blachford, "how he lets himself go when he enjoys

being out in the air on a fine day, and looking at what he thinks beautiful." In 1886 the Cardinal spent three days at the Deanery—"so bright, so kind, so affectionate, very old and soon tired, but soon refreshed with a pause of rest, and making fun of his old age. . . . The old smile and twinkle of the eye and bright meaning εἰρωνεία are all still there, and all seemed to belong to the old days." In 1889 the Dean's eldest daughter saw the Cardinal at Birmingham, and the Dean, commenting on the letter in which she described the visit, says, "That gesture of his, raising his arm, brings back old days as much as anything."

Church never for one moment forgot how much he and the whole English Church owed to Newman. The attempts which were occasionally made, by people who set what they mistook for originality above truth, to attribute the authorship of the Oxford Movement to Hugh James Rose or Alexander Knox[1]—to any one indeed so long as it was not Newman—always drew from the Dean an expression of indignant scorn. There is no better statement of Newman's work in the world, no truer estimate of its aim and temper, than that which the Dean contributed to the *Guardian* immediately after the Cardinal's death. This warmth of admiration, this accuracy of appreciation were combined with an absolute conviction on the Dean's

[1] See an article signed R. W. C. in *The Guardian* of September 7, 1887.

part that in the great crisis of their lives he had been right and Newman wrong; and with an equally absolute conviction that never for a moment had the Cardinal's loyalty and obedience to his own Church, even when most tried, wavered or faltered. "The thing is inconceivable to any one who ever knew him, and the mere suggestion would be enough to make him blaze forth in all his old fierceness and power."

"The friendship," says Miss Church, "preserved to the end its distinct and peculiar character. On Cardinal Newman's side there was still the frank confidence and the reliance on sympathy and counsel which had belonged to the old Oxford days; while by those near the Dean it was always recognised that *Newman* was a name apart, the symbol, as it were, of a debt too great and a friendship too intimate and complex to bear being lightly spoken of, or subjected to the ordinary measures of praise or blame. Where agreement was not possible, the Dean seldom allowed himself any criticism save that which was implied by silence."

During the busiest part of his nineteen years at S. Paul's, Church was always ready to answer questions dealing with the deeper matters of religion, and his replies are uniformly characterised by the same profound sense of the smallness of the field that human knowledge can cover when it essays to unfold the nature and action of Almighty God. Thus, to a correspondent in difficulties about original

sin, he insists on the necessity of distinguishing the fact from GOD's treatment of it. The fact is mysterious and inexplicable, but it cannot be denied. "There is a fault and vice in the *race* which, given time, as surely develops into actual sin, as our physical constitution, given at birth, does into sickness and physical death." On such a nature as this GOD cannot look with complacency or indifference. He must condemn it because in itself it is evil. But of the Divine treatment of this fact we know only a small part. For Christians "and those who may know of the Gospel," certain known means of cure are provided. For others—for heathens who have never heard of the Gospel, and still more for unbaptised infants "who have never exercised will or reason," we may be sure that He has provided other means of cure, which have not been revealed to us. The Dean was never weary of dwelling on the limitations of our knowledge. Revelation lifts a corner of the curtain which hangs between us and the next world, but it is only a corner, and of what goes on behind that part of the curtain which has not been lifted we are just as ignorant as before.

In another letter to the Principal of Hertford[1] he emphasises this point still more. "The wisest thing men can do is to cultivate diligently a sense of their own hopeless ignorance, and to have the courage to say 'I cannot tell.'" Possibly religion has suffered as much from the

[1] Dr. Boyd.

want of this courage in Apologists as from any other cause. Church's treatment of Future Punishment is a striking example of this refusal to go beyond what is told us in Scripture. He speaks of a sermon which had "worried and almost exasperated him," because it assumed that we know the exact meaning of the Scripture terms used, and confused general language about the "certain and terrible punishment" of sin, with the satisfaction of definite questions about the nature and duration of that punishment. Indeed, to Church the "difficulty of finally dealing with evil" was less than the difficulty of evil itself. "How can we imagine ourselves, supposing we had omnipotence or omniscience, enduring to bring into being such unintermitting masses of misery and sin?"

To a lady who wished to know his thoughts upon the manner of our LORD's sympathy with pain, but took what she must be supposed to have thought the necessary precaution of stipulating that she "must not have vagueness and platitude," the Dean replied that nothing that he had ever thought about the matter would bear such a test. "Without knowledge, it is difficult not to be vague, and without discovery and the possibility of discovery, difficult to avoid platitudes." But he gives the only real answer: That our LORD did suffer human pain we know because we have been told it. But to enquire *how*, and still more *why* He suffered, is both idle and

hopeless. What is the use of asking what we cannot know? Human beings have to choose between two sets of facts—those which witness to the goodness and love of GOD, and those which point in the opposite direction. "You must by necessity trust one set of appearances; which will you trust? Our LORD came among us not to clear up the perplexity, but to show us which side to take." And in one most striking passage the Dean suggests that perhaps on the Cross our LORD Himself shared in this perplexity. "One of the thoughts which pass sometimes through our minds about the sufferings of the Cross is what *could* be the necessity of such suffering? What *was* the use of it? How, with infinite power, could not its ends have been otherwise attained? Why need He have suffered? Why could not the FATHER save Him from that hour? Did that thought, in the limitations and 'emptying' of the Passion, pass through His mind too?"

Of the apparition of the "Higher Criticism," that grave and disturbing controversy which came to the front in the last year of Church's life, we hear but little in the letters. But the attitude that the Dean would have taken up in regard to it may be guessed from a letter to Lady Welby, who had sent him a pamphlet in which she charged the clergy with keeping silence on this subject when they ought to have spoken.

"When the ordinary mass of us," says the Dean, "have to choose between speaking of the Bible as the Church has hitherto done, and the new language of criticism, it is fair to ask, 'What *does* criticism say?'" And then he points out how strangely small the crop of "clear, certain, convincing" answers has been. Criticism does not speak with the assurance of physical science, nor do critics always write with the modesty and hesitation of the great scientists. If the attack on the received beliefs about the Old Testament had been conducted in the same temper in which Darwin assailed the received views about the origin of species, the new criticism would have made its way more quickly and with less friction. There was no fear, indeed, that Church would treat the question lightly. He was well aware that the new perplexities called for courage and honesty. He only pleaded that they also called for patience—the patience which belongs to the intellect as well as that which belongs to conduct. Incompetent handling of these perplexities could do nothing but harm, and a man who is conscious that he has not the means of examining them properly "*ought* to leave them alone," much more to "abstain from pressing them on others."

More significant still is a letter to Liddon, written in the excitement that followed the publication of *Lux Mundi*. That excitement, in Church's opinion, was the natural result of the

omission of Churchmen to prepare to meet these "anxious and disturbing" questions effectively. They had left them "to be dealt with by a cruel and insolent curiosity, utterly reckless of results, and even enjoying the pleasure of affronting religion and religious faith." So far Church could go along with Liddon. But at this point they parted company. Liddon could not see—perhaps we should rather say did not live to see—how inevitable it was that these difficulties should arise. That they should have presented themselves, not to arrogant and conceited experts, but to deep-thinking and devout Catholic believers, seemed to him a problem that defied explanation. To Church, on the other hand, it was only evidence of the need of some constructive handling of the questions, What the Bible really is, and How it came to be.

Only a few of the letters deal with politics. "I am a Conservative by instinct and feeling," he writes in 1865, "but there is at once a negativeness and barrenness, and also a fierceness about the *soi-disant* Conservative party which is not pleasant or hopeful." He had the highest esteem for the moral side of Mr. Gladstone's character, and he viewed with intense dislike the kind of hostility which that side aroused, especially in London. "Of all the evil symptoms about," he writes in 1880, "this incapacity to perceive Gladstone's

real nobleness, and to keep in check the antipathies created by his popular enthusiasm and his serious religiousnesss, is one of the worst. It is a bad thing to have a great man before a nation and that a great minority in it should not be able to recognise him." But this esteem did not in the least affect his judgment of particular aspects of Mr. Gladstone's policy. "I have tried hard," he writes in 1882, in reference to Mr. W. E. Forster's resignation, "to believe that he" (Gladstone) "has been right. But it seems to me that he is blind to Irish insolence and Irish keen sense of their winning game." And in 1886 he writes of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill: "Whether he is right or not there is something to me unspeakably pathetic in his solitude. And if he goes I am sure I shall not like the conjunction of Lord Hartington and Chamberlain better. Perhaps he is right, and the *via salutis* may open out of the thick of disaster. But I can't see it; and for the second time in my life I have to try as well as I can to unite unabated admiration with the impossibility of moral or intellectual agreement."

Miss Church gives a comparatively large space to the letters written while Church was abroad in 1847. An absence from England of nearly twelve months was a welcome relief after eight years of strenuous conflict and seeming defeat. His time was spent partly in Greece

and partly in Italy, with two interposed visits, one to Constantinople and one to Corfu. The Greek letters of 1847 are so good in themselves that the reader can only regret that the Swiss and Italian letters of Church's later life did not run to equal length. In 1847 his uncle, Sir Richard Church, was one of the leading members of the Greek Opposition, and on reaching Athens, Church at once found himself "in the focus of a political row," which his Oxford experience helped him to understand. He gives a vivid description of the debates in the Chamber, "remembered not so much by this or that motion lost or won, but by the skill and success on particular occasions of this or that πρόμαχος;" of the endless visits where the Opposition members met to settle the votes the Minister has bought, the national property he had paid away in return for them, or the sort of poison that had been used to get an inconvenient witness out of the way; of all the curious contrasts of "a half-civilised society in which the circulation and verification of intelligence goes on mainly by the same imperfect means that it did in the days of Thucydides." Then we have a visit to Marathon, seen "late in the evening, the time of day of the battle itself, under a dark, stern, stormy sky," and the experience of being "benighted on the field, with the wind rising and the sea breaking on the beach where the Persian ships with Hippias had moored."

After Greece comes Constantinople, where in 1847 Church exactly gauged the worth of much that he heard then, and of much that has been written since, about Turkish improvement. "I cannot help fancying that the meaning of this is that they have been bemystified into wearing tight trousers contrary to the nature of their legs, and drinking wine contrary to their religion; that they have been partly persuaded and partly frightened into moderation in the use of the bowstring and scimitar; that their Oriental admiration of the effects of machinery has very much overcome their jealousy of foreigners, and that the peace which is kept in the East by the West has enabled them to indulge their taste this way to a considerable extent."

The foundations of his love for the *Divina Commedia* were laid or strengthened by his stay in Italy, during which "the little well-worn volume" had been never out of reach, and had been laid on Dante's tomb at Ravenna. "It is filled with marginal notes and jottings, bearing witness to its constant use, and to the associations which had grown up during the journey round numberless passages of the poem."

It was fifteen years before Church had his next foreign holiday. His admirable faculty of description comes out in his familiar letters as much as in his writings. This time Grenoble, the Grande Chartreuse, and Paris

supply the material. He notes with delight the brightness of the Champs Elysées, but he notes also what ground all these pleasure-seekers were treading on. "There in that Place de la Concorde, all so gay and beautiful, one can put one's foot exactly on the spot where stood the guillotine of Louis XVI., and there, on the other side of the obelisk, is that whence Marie Antoinette might have looked along the avenue of horse-chestnuts up to the Central Pavilion of the Tuilleries, one October morning, for the last time." He spends a day at Meaux, and finds the cathedral a singularly pure and beautiful geometrical decorated church, "far better than one expected of a cathedral of which Bossuet had been Bishop, for somehow there seems a fitness that it should be a grand Renaissance or Louis XIV. building."

He did not see Rome till the spring of 1882, and his feeling the first day "was of hatred such as I never felt to London or Paris. I had the feeling that it is the one city in the world, besides Jerusalem, on which we *know* that GOD's eye is fixed, and that He has some purpose or other about it—one can hardly tell whether of good or evil. . . . I cannot tell you how this kind of uncertainty about what the real meaning of the whole thing has tormented and vexed me." Later on, however, he found the old churches, with their old columns and pavements, "most delightful," but when he

stops at Florence he notes that there is something about it which to him "is more attractive than any of the great places where we have been, Genoa, Perugia, Siena, Rome."

The next year he had "a most delightful three days of Dantesque and Fratesque topography." His itinerary, with its recurrent references to the *Commedia*, is very characteristic. "The Casentino, you know, is the upper valley of the Arno from its source to where 'turning up its nose' at Arezzo (*Purgatorio*, xiv.) it doubles back on itself round the great ridge of the *Prato Magno* (*Purgatorio*, v.). Dante knew it well. He has shown how he remembered it and all the region in Buonconti's story (*Purgatorio*, v.) whose body was swept away by the fierce Archiano torrent which comes down from the Eremo of Camaldoli into the Arno in the tempest which followed the battle. Dante delighted in the 'green hills and cool brooks' (*Inferno*, xxx.) as much as he hated the inhabitants (*Purgatorio*, xiv.)."

CHAPTER XIII.

The Writer : I. Historian.

I HAVE tried to show very imperfectly what manner of man Church was, and how he bore himself in the several parts which fell to his lot. I have now to say something about his writings.

"I should like," he tells Dr. Gray, "to have done one good hard, long piece of work"—this was written before *The Oxford Movement* was taken in hand—"the pleasure of finishing is with me mainly confined to finishing a longish sermon, or an article or essay, or small book." But though the outcome, as regards each separate piece of work, might seem small in amount, that is not the effect produced on the reader. Alike as historian, as critic, as preacher, Church gives the impression of selecting from a vast storehouse of thought and knowledge that which is needed for his present purpose—that and no more. Even his shortest article—written on no more direct or exceptional call than the appearance of a book sent to him for review—gives the same evidence of long preparation. His deliberate historical judgments

are to be found in quite unlikely places. His estimate of the reign of Elizabeth, for example, though it may be gathered in part from the volumes on Bacon and Spencer which he contributed to *English Men of Letters*, will be found in its most finished form in a lecture on Bishop Andrewes which makes part of a volume entitled *Pascal and other Sermons*.

The Bishop of Oxford, in his preface to the *Life and Letters*, lays an illuminating stress on the unusual combination in the Dean's mind "of certain traits and habits which are generally regarded as characteristic of separate and special studies; of scholarship, of natural science, and of history." All these habits—the accuracy of the scholar, the patient waiting for further light which marks the man of science, the criticism, at once sympathetic and discriminating, without which the historian will be only the annalist or the partisan—reacted upon one another, and left their traces on other subjects than those to which they specially belonged. But there can be no doubt, I think, that the Bishop is right when he says that it is in the field of history that Church is greatest. "The study of human nature, in its variety, its strangeness, its complexity, the analysis of broad movements into their component forces, or the tracing of them to their many causes; the severance and appraising of good and bad in the mixed actions of famous men; the redressing of unjust judgments; the patient observation and description

of great courses of policy and action :—these were tasks to which the Dean brought his very keenest interest, on which he spent his most serious and concentrated work, in which he seemed to know no weariness."

It was characteristic of the Dean's indifference to external distinctions that the work in which these qualities are shown on the largest scale should have been a school-book. *The Beginning of the Middle Ages* was published by Messrs. Longman in 1877, as a volume of "Epochs of Modern History," and was afterwards reprinted by arrangement with Messrs. Macmillan in their edition of the *Miscellaneous Works*. In its first form, the only form in which the author knew it, it was a severe-looking little volume which bore the mark of scholastic purpose in its closely-printed page, narrow margins, and general air of economy. But the Dean gave to it of his best, as he did to all his writings, and it stands almost alone among books of the kind for its comprehensive grasp of a vast subject. The Dean seems to hold the succession of events in Europe, from the invasion of Italy by Alaric to the final establishment of the Holy Roman Empire under Otto the Great, in the hollow of his hand. His aim, he says in the preface, was "little more than to disengage the leading lines in the history of five most important and most confused centuries, and to mark the influences which most asserted themselves, and which seem to have most

governed the results as we see them in subsequent history." This is an exact description of what the book does. The opening sentences are absolutely unlike the ordinary school-history. They remind us rather of Bossuet than of Pinnock.

"Modern History," we read, "is separated from Ancient by two great and unparalleled catastrophes. . . . One was the destruction of the Jewish State and Temple. The other was the break-up of the Roman Empire." Without these two catastrophes "that new settlement or direction of human affairs, under which the last fifteen centuries have been passed, would have been inconceivable and impossible. The fall of Jerusalem was the evident close of a theocracy which, up to that time, had for ages counted on a Divine guarantee, and which looked forward, without doubt, to ending only in the consummation of a Messianic triumph. It was the apparent extinction of the visible kingdom of GOD on earth : the doom pronounced by the course of events on claims and hopes which, to those who lived under them seemed the most sure of all things. The fall of the Roman Empire was the overthrow of the greatest, the strongest, and the most firmly-settled State which the world had ever known : the dislocation and reversal of the long-received ideas and assumptions of mankind, of their habits of thinking, of the customs of life, of the conclusions of experience." The reader is thus

lifted at the outset into a region of large ideas. He sees the way cleared for the Christian Church by the disappearance of Judaism as an untrammelled and active force, and for new nations and "new forms of political and social order, then beyond all possibility of being anticipated or understood," by the disappearance of the Roman Empire.

Then the Dean brings before us the wonderful suddenness of the second catastrophe. We can trace the long preparation for it, but to those who saw it, it must have seemed to be only ten years in accomplishment. "While the Roman Empire lasted on its old footing, no idea could have seemed more wild to most men than that it should ever cease to exist, or that society could be possible without it; and it was still apparently standing on its ancient foundations at the end of the fourth century. But with the fifth no one could mistake the signs of change." The Empire which only a few years earlier had still seemed eternal was visibly falling to pieces. Then followed a real catastrophe of strange and rare violence in the progress of mankind. For more than three centuries the world and human society seemed "hopelessly wrecked, without prospect or hope of escape." But all this time reconstruction was going hand in hand with destruction. "Just as the present crust of the earth on which we dwell is built up of the ruins of former ones, as our mountains and plains are the remains and wreck of an elder world, so

nations stand on the relics and survivals of older natural and political organisations, broken up and shattered, but not annihilated. We plant our corn and wine on the *débris* of primeval rocks. Ancient sea-bottoms are our fields and the sites of our cities. The clay of which our bricks are moulded was poured forth in sub-glacial streams from long-melted glaciers. The stones of which our homes are built are cut out of *strata* deposited in oceans which have vanished, and beds heaved up and down in tremendous jars and shocks, far beyond our experience. So modern Europe has arisen out of three main elements : (1) Disintegrated and ruined nations formed under the civilisation of Greece and Rome ; (2) Altered and, to use a geological term, metamorphic, Teutonic races, more or less modified by contact with the Roman world ; (3) The organisation and ideas and usages of the Christian Church."

In this way the reader is furnished with a clue which saves him from being altogether lost in the recurrent revolutions of the barbaric world. He is enabled to keep before his mind at once the past on which the new Europe is founded, and the ideas and institutions which have grown out of that past. The names and dates, which confuse him by their multitude as he passes from Visigoth to Ostrogoth, from Vandal to Hun, from Frank to Lombard, appear as parts of an ordered whole.

Perhaps the most striking chapter in the

book is the third, which describes the condition of the Teutonic settlements in the Empire. In some fourteen small pages the new society lives again. "Amid the ruins of the greatest pride and the greatest strength that the world had known the Church alone stood erect and strong." It believed in itself and in its mission; it accepted, in the persons of its Bishops, the responsibilities which others gave up or shrank from; it gave the new rulers a standard to which they conformed in word, however far they might wander away from it in act. But by the side of this picture the Dean places another. The influence of the Church on the barbarians, so far as it went, was wholly good. The influence of the barbarians on the Church was almost wholly bad. But the one result could not have been had without the other. The "ultimate improvement of society" depended on the extent to which the clergy made good their hold on the new nations. Without this, even the low ideals which the barbarians did after a fashion make their own would never have been set up. And the clergy obtained this hold by throwing themselves into the affairs of their converts and accepting the dignities and the wealth that these converts bestowed on them.

The Bishops became great secular princes. The clergy became landowners on a large scale. Had they shunned these things force would have reigned supreme in the administration of

justice, agriculture would never have got beyond its first rude beginnings, learning would have disappeared beyond the possibility of recall. But the clergy paid heavily for their commerce with the world—paid for it in growing secularity of pursuit, in growing irregularity of life, in growing absence of discipline. The evil spared no dignity and no class. Even "in that great see which had become the centre of Western Christendom the Bishops of Rome had begun to travel fast along that downward road which was to lead them step by step from the nobleness and devotion of the first Leo and the first Gregory, through a miserable greed after provinces and cities, to the incredible scandals of the tenth century." Though Christianity was still the salt of the earth, it had terribly lost its savour.

Or take the contrast between the action of Christianity on the Teutonic nations of the mainland and its action on the English conquerors. In England there were no indirect influences from a subject population. "Roman laws, which retained so much of their power on the Continent, did nothing here." A political organisation destined to be "as solid, as elastic, as enduring" as that of the Empire was worked out without any help from the Empire. "Angles and Saxons, Jutes and Frisians, fresh from the sea and pirate life, or from the bleak flats and sandhills of the German or Danish coasts . . . knew nothing of Roman service,

of Roman cities, of Roman policy and law, of Roman religion." They had never been settlers in Roman territory, nor soldiers in Roman armies. Of what they found in England—Latin as well as British—they made a clean sweep. "Other German invaders had bowed before the majesty of Christian Bishops, and had often, even in the storm of an assault or the sack of a captured town, respected Christian churches. The English conquerors were fiercely heathen, and hated Christianity as the religion of those whom it was their work to destroy from off the land which was to be the land of the English. . . . The planting of the English nation was the utter destruction of the Christian religion within its borders." Consequently Christianity in England was at least free from the special vices of a degraded and corrupt civilisation. "The Anglo-Saxon Church had its strange anomalies, its deep blots, its repulsive features. Like other Churches it had to deal in its course both with grave questions and with petty quarrels. It had its rise and prime and its deep decline. But in its best days it had a straightforward seriousness of conviction and purpose, and a fire and thoroughness of faith among its early converts, which are very much its own. Bede, like Gregory of Tours, reflects a state of society which is wild, uncontrolled, violent, full of battle and death. But the characteristic passages of Bede are passages which are full of genuine

religious or moral interest, and which bear the mark of deep feeling and sympathy in the writer. The characteristic passages of Gregory's history of the Franks are tragedies of dark and dreadful crime, to which the stories of Œdipus and Lear are tame, and they are told with unmoved calmness and composure."

The sixth chapter is hardly, if at all, less striking, and it deals with what thirty years ago was less known ground than it is now—the fortunes of "that remarkable empire, which, though since its fall it has become a by-word, was, when it was standing, the wonder and the envy of the barbarian world, the mysterious 'Micklegarth,' the Great City, the 'Town of Towns' of the Northern legends." The Eastern Empire with its "permanent elements of vast and enduring strength" underlying what often "seemed to be hopeless feebleness and decay," its position for ten centuries as the "unaided outpost of Christendom," its literary tradition "inherited from Athens, from Antioch, from Alexandria;" its court, which, "long after the days of Charles, Alfred, and Otto, was to the courts of the Franks and the English what the courts of Versailles and S. James were to the court of S. Peter the Great," seized on the Dean's imagination. The Eastern Empire was something more than the individual Emperor, something more and greater than an autocracy. It "was held together by great networks and scaffoldings, of long date and of

immense strength and tenacity." It had its local government, its civil administration, its powerful and popular Church. It suffered from its barbarian neighbours even more than the West. It suffered from the Mohammedan power which, after eight centuries of resistance, was in the end to overthrow it. It had all the vices of a despotic Government. "But it had also the experience, the trained habits of order and industry, the enlightenment and the resources, which distinguish civilised Governments, whether free or absolute, from the unpractised apprenticeship of those whose political history is yet beginning."

This contrast between civilisation and barbarism, between order and confusion, between law and violence, had an immense attraction for Church. He notes in Cardinal Newman the "increasing sense that civilisation is, as a whole, and notwithstanding grievous drawbacks, part of GOD's providential government, a noble and beneficent thing." So in the sermon on "The Gifts of Civilisation" he claims for "that great spectacle amid which we live" more respect than it has always received from religious people. . . . "Observe how, as time goes on, men gain in power—power over themselves; power to bring about surely and without violence what they propose; power to have larger aims, to command vaster resources, to embrace without rash presumption a greater field. See how great moral habits strike their roots deep

in a society; habits undeniably admirable and beneficial yet not necessarily connected with the order of things belonging to religion, the deep, strong, stern sense of justice *as* justice; the power of ruling firmly, equitably, incorruptibly; the genius and aptitude for law, as a really governing power in society, which is one of the marked differences of nations, and which some of the most gifted are without; the spirit of self-devoted enterprise, the indifference to privation and to the pain of effort, the impulses which lead to discovery and peopling the earth with colonies; patriotism and keen public spirit, which some religious theories disparage as heathen, but which no theories will ever keep men from admiring. . . . This is what we see; this amid all that is so dark and disappointing, has come of GOD'S nurturing of mankind through the past centuries."

In a lecture given at S. Paul's a few years before the appearance of the *Beginnings of the Middle Ages* we have the same sense not only of the splendour of the Byzantine Court, but of "the comparative prosperity of the provinces, the systematic legislation, the administrative experience and good sense with which the vast machine was kept going and its wealth developed, its military science and skill, the beauty and delicacy of its manufactures. . . . The Greeks of the Lower Empire" kept civilisation and Christianity alive when Europe was still barbarous. "Alaric's Goths at the sack of Rome,

Platoff's Cossacks at the occupation of Paris, were not greater contrasts to all that is meant by civilisation than the Latins of the First and Fourth Crusade . . . in the great capital of Eastern Christendom which they wondered at and pillaged."

Nor was it only Greek civilisation that interested Church. The strange contrasts, the unexpected inconsistencies of Greek religion had an equal attraction for him. What was the character of the race singled out by God to be the first soldiers of the New Faith? It is painted for us in the Satires of Juvenal. The typical Greek of the first Christian century "answered to the ideal Frenchman of our great-grandfathers in the eighteenth century. He was a creature of inexhaustible energy, but without self-respect, without self-command or modesty, capable of everything as an impostor and a quack, capable of nothing as a man and a citizen." This is the testimony of heathen observers. S. Paul had for these same Greeks the affection of the missionary among whose first converts they were numbered. But the judgment he passes on them in his Epistles is equally damning. The Greek converts were "the men in whose childish conceit, childish frivolity, childish self-assertion, S. Paul saw such dangers to the growth of Christian manliness and to the unity of the Christian body—the idly curious and gossiping men of Athens; the vain and shamelessly ostentatious

Corinthians, men in intellect, but in moral seriousness babes ; the Ephesians, 'like children carried away with every blast of vain teaching,' the victims of every impostor, and sport of every deceit ; the Cretans proverbially ever liars, 'evil beasts, slow bellies ;' the passionate, volatile, Greek-speaking Celts of Asia, the 'foolish' Galatians." They were no better in the second century, when they are painted for us by Lucian ; no better at the end of the fourth, when we know what S. Chrysostom thought of them. What hope was there for such a race as this when it should come in collision with "the simpler and manlier barbarians from the northern wastes, from the Arabian wilderness, from the Tartar steppes ?"

There was reserved for the Greeks the hardest and the most prolonged of all the external trials to which Christianity has been subjected—the contact with the "consuming and absorbing enthusiasm of Mahometanism." After the centuries of ill-treatment and misgovernment which have followed the Mohammedan conquest, the Greeks are theologically unchanged. "To their first faith, as it grew up substantially the same in Greek society in the days of Justin and Origen, as it was formulated in the Great Councils, as it was embodied in the Liturgies, as it was consecrated and rehearsed in perpetual worship, as it was preached by Gregory and Chrysostom, as it was expounded by Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem, and John of

Damascus, as it prompted the lives of saints and consecrated the triumphs of martyrs," they still cling, "as if it was the wonder and discovery of yesterday." The most fickle of races in the things of the present world has proved the most conservative in the things of the next.

Something has lately been heard in England of the value of the first six centuries as a standard of doctrine and ceremonial. Perhaps the easiest way of bringing home to an Englishman the changes which the adoption of this standard would effect, would be to send him some Sunday to the Greek Church in London. To this religion the Greeks have adhered with heroic tenacity. Their noblest history has been ecclesiastical, their national heroes have been saints. When the Greek Empire fell "all the world was looking forward . . . to the disappearance by slavery, by forced conversion, of the representatives in the East of the Christian family. But the expectation has been falsified. It had not entered into the calculation how much of stubborn, unyielding faith and strength Christianity had introduced beneath the surface of that apparently supple and facile Greek nature." Throughout the long agony of Turkish oppression, relief, immediate and lasting, might always have been purchased by apostasy, just as it may be to-day in Macedonia or Armenia. There have been renegades in abundance when the motive has

been great place or a great career, but those that have denied the Faith to gain protection from massacre have been strangely few.

In the *Life of S. Anselm* we exchange a wide survey of the march of history through centuries of change and re-settlement for close insight into the life and character of a particular period. The book opens with a masterly review, compressed into some half-dozen pages, of the place of monasticism in history. Too often the historian's estimate of this has been determined by his own attitude towards the Religious Life. What impresses the Dean is neither its beauty nor its failures, but its inevitableness. For the first ten Christian centuries, "the loftiest moral teaching, based on the most overwhelming doctrines which the world has ever known, was confronted with an evil and hopeless condition of things in real life, to which it formed a contrast of which it is impossible for us now even to imagine the magnitude." During these thousand years, Christianity "can hardly be said to have leavened society at all. . . . That ordinary daily routine of life, in which we have learned to see one of its noblest and most adequate spheres, seemed then beneath its notice or out of its reach." In the actual condition of the world—amid the baseness and degradation of Latin civilisation, or the lawless savagery of its barbarian conquerors—a man could no more follow CHRIST's teaching, except as a monk, than he could be active in the world

and help to shape the course of events except as a soldier. And the world itself had come to recognise this necessity. Wherever its rulers, or its great men, wished to serve the cause of GOD, they built monasteries, and to these monasteries, as afterwards to Universities, men went to find the best knowledge and the best teaching of the day.

In the second half of the eleventh century no monastery in Europe was more famous than the Norman house of Bec. "It is not easy for us to understand how, in those difficult and dangerous days, communication was so extensive, and news travelled so widely, and the character of a house of monks and its teacher in the depths of Normandy produced such an impression in Europe as was in fact the case." The true glories of Bec, indeed, were evanescent. From a great school and a pattern of piety to Europe it sank to being "one of the rich and dignified preferments of the Church of France. In the sixteenth century the Abbacy was held by great aristocratic Bishops and Cardinals, Dunois, Le Veneur, D'Annebaut, Guise; in the seventeenth century by a Colbert, a Rochefoucauld, and a Bourbon Condé. But the irony of fate had something more in store. The last Abbot of Bec, of the house founded by Herlwin, and made glorious by Lanfranc and Anselm, was M. de Talleyrand."

To Bec in its spring-time, when Lanfranc

had made it famous throughout the whole West, Anselm came from Aosta, and there, at the age of twenty-seven, he became a monk. And then in a few sentences the Dean puts before us the origin and the character of the life that men led in a monastery. "It was a fundamental assumption that there was no living an earnest Christian life without a jealous and pervading system of control and rule. Civil life, as we know it, hardly existed: all that was powerful, all that was honoured, was connected with war; the ideas of the time more or less insensibly took a military colour; men's calling and necessity were in one way or another to fight; and to fight evil with effect needed combination, endurance, and practice. The governing thought of monastic life was that it was a warfare, *militia*, and a monastery was a camp, a barrack. There were continual drill and exercise, early hours, fixed times, appointed tasks, hard fare, stern punishments, watchfulness was to be incessant, obedience prompt and absolute; no man was to have a will of his own, no man was to murmur."

All the leaders that have had the spread of religion for their one object, from S. Benedict to General Booth, have made the life of the soldier their pattern; and it may be doubted whether much will be done by the Church towards the re-conversion of England until a nearer approach to this conception is visible in the clergy. The older Anglican ideal, an

ideal in which marriage and children and social position and a competence have each their allotted part, may keep a nation Christian, but it has to be seen whether it will make a nation Christian—whether, for that end, the yet older military ideal is not as necessary now as it was in the eleventh century. And the problem is likely to be forced on our attention by the disappearance of some of the conditions which made its solution on Anglican lines possible. In too many cases the competence has vanished, the social position is vanishing. When these are gone what place will remain for a clergy which has grown up in the possession of them?

It is with Anselm as an ecclesiastical ruler that Church chiefly concerns himself. There is a chapter on his life at Bec, with a sketch of the two famous treatises, the *Monologion* and the *Proslogion*, but the larger part of the volume is given to his tenure of the great See of Canterbury. The description of the condition of England under William Rufus is heightened by the contrast between his rule and that of his father. In a chapter on the Ecclesiastical Administration of the Conqueror we have a striking picture of the way in which a great ruler can bend things to his purpose. William's position in the Norman Church closely resembled that of Henry VIII. in the English Church. "He was the real active head of the Government in the Church as in

the State ; and no one thought it strange that he should be. He appointed the Bishops, not always perhaps in the same manner ; sometimes, apparently, by his sole choice, sometimes with consultation and assent of his chief men. He invested them with their office by the delivery of the pastoral staff. . . . If he had charges against them they were tried by his Council, and deposed by his authority. . . . Ecclesiastical as well as civil causes came to his court ; over Churchmen as well as laymen he asserted his authority, and both equally resorted to his justice."

The outcome of these qualities in the King, supported as he was in Lanfranc by an Archbishop of Canterbury like-minded with himself, was that, while he lived, there was government in the State and the Church. "There was the strong love of order, the purpose of improvement, the sense of the value of law, the hatred of anarchy and misrule, and the firm mind to put them down." But the foundation of the whole fabric was the will of a single man. It was no more enduring than his life, or than his purpose while he lived. Hard and stern at all times, William became cruel and oppressive towards the end, and the moment that end came his whole system of government fell to pieces.

The Conqueror did at least make "serious efforts to follow after what he believed to be the light." There were no such efforts on his

son's part. William II. "had all his father's force of character, his father's wary boldness, his father's terrible inflexibility of will, his father's vigour and decision and rapidity in action; but without those perceptions of right, that feeling after something better, that deep, though confused, sense of goodness, that living, though often clouded, fear of GOD which had given whatever nobleness it had to his father's royalty. . . . The Crown of England was as safe in the Red King's keeping, and as much feared by its subjects and its neighbours, as it had been in his father's time." What made the difference between the two Royalties, outwardly so like, "was the incipient order, the faint half-conscious preludes of civilisation, the sense of something higher than force, the purpose, however dim, of maintaining right, which were present in the Conqueror's notions of kingship, and which disappeared for the time under William the Red."

This was the state to which things had come in England when Anselm became Archbishop of Canterbury. Nor was it with the King only that he had to contend. The King's best instruments were found in Anselm's own profession. One of the most striking passages in the book is the sketch of Ralph Flambard: "He was one of a class of Churchmen who were characteristic of a low and imperfect state of civilisation, and who passed away with it." They "simply merged and lost their

ecclesiastical function in their secular business, and used their clerkship to make themselves instruments of administration and tools of power. . . . The clerics, most of them in orders, but not all Priests, did all the writing, account-keeping, law business, all that had to do with the estate agency or the domestic economy. . . . The work which is now done in the Exchequer, the Treasury, the Offices of Chancery, by the Boards of Revenue and Customs, by the law officers of the Crown, by the Departments of Public Works and Crown Domains, the business of public accounts and State correspondence was mostly in the hands of these men ; and their work was by no means always ill done. They had among them the contriving brains, the quick pens, the calculating heads of their time ; they had the financial inventiveness, the legal resource, the business-like coolness necessary for their work. The finance and the office routine of the age were rude, but they were beginnings ; and though much in them was blundering and, what was worse, corrupt and oppressive, we are even now, in many things, beholden to these early clerical pioneers of English civilisation."

Such functions as these could be performed in very different ways, according to the temper and purpose of the holder of the office. In Ralph Flambard we have to do with "one of the worst specimens of the worst kind of

the class;" and it was against him, and such as him, that the clerical revolt of the twelfth century that we know as the "Question of Investitures" was, in the first instance, directed. Flambard's great financial invention was that when a Bishop or Abbot died, the King's officer —Flambard himself when, as at Canterbury, the dignity was great enough—entered on the property and kept it for the King's use as long as he pleased. After Lanfranc's death the See of Canterbury remained vacant for more than three years, the reason being that during that time the king had possession of the temporalities. When Anselm left England, William again seized them. Nor was it only Canterbury that the King dealt with in this fashion. When he died he held also the rents belonging to the Sees of Winchester and Sarum, and eleven Abbeys.

The disputed right of Investiture involved these and all similar questions. If the King was the source of episcopal authority, he was only doing what he willed with his own. If the Pope was the source, the King was only an intruder and a robber. To a Roman Catholic writer the defence of Anselm is easy, but Church defends him quite as warmly. The reason is that he sees what many historians miss, that the issue of right and wrong in history must be decided from the point of view of the time, and with the knowledge open to those who took part in the struggle.

The system of appeals to Rome, "which grew to such a mischievous and scandalous height," was begun "not only in good faith, but with good reason." Anselm "had the strongest grounds and the most urgent motives for insisting on it; and his single-handed contest with power in order to maintain it was one of the steps, though one serving but for the time, in the long battle of law against tyranny, of reason against self-will, of faith in right against worldliness and brute force. . . . Experience has amply shown, century after century, that supreme and irresponsible authority has no protection against the most monstrous abuse by being for spiritual ends; and that the power of that great tribunal which Hildebrand imagined and created, to keep the great ones of the earth in order and to maintain the right of the helpless against the mighty, quickly became, in the hands of unscrupulous men, as lawless, as unscrupulous, as infamously selfish as the worst of those tyrannies of this world which it professed to encounter with the law of GOD and the authority of CHRIST. But in Anselm's time all this was yet future, and men must do their work with the instruments and under the conditions of the present."

It may be argued, indeed, that the Church gained little by Anselm's success, and gained that little only for a time. But this is the history of all similar triumphs. "What are

all reforms, restorations, victories of truth, but protests of a minority, efforts clogged and incomplete, of the good and brave, just enough in their own day to stop instant ruin —the appointed means to save, but in themselves failures? Good men work and suffer, and bad men enjoy their labours and spoil them; a step is made in advance—evil rolled back and kept in check for a while, only to return, perhaps, the stronger. But thus, and thus only, is truth passed on, and the world preserved from utter corruption."

The two books that deal with Elizabethan England are to me the least interesting of Church's works. It is not that they do not contain much fine criticism, or that they do not show the same sure grasp of the essential features of the period of which he is writing. But as regards the age of Elizabeth and Elizabeth herself, I am of Bishop Creighton's mind. His biographer tells us that, with an increasing appreciation of the Queen's extraordinary ability, he had a constantly diminishing opinion of her morals. "As for the Tudors," he writes, "they are awful; I do not really think that any one ought to read the history of the sixteenth century." The early part of the seventeenth may not show much improvement, but, at all events, men had ceased to admire, as a matter of duty and habit, all that the sovereign did.

Indiscriminate praise is the worst service

that can be rendered to mixed characters. We know that in many particulars it cannot be justified, and we are insensibly led on to deny that it can be justified in any. Church's estimate of the age of Elizabeth is probably not very unlike Creighton's. But the admiration and detestation are distributed in somewhat different proportions. His most comprehensive and illuminating survey of the period appears, as I have said, in his lecture on Bishop Andrewes. It is indeed with the Elizabethan settlement of religion that he is chiefly concerned, but in the last half of the sixteenth, and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, religion and statesmanship were so closely connected that to treat of one is to treat of the other.

The first act of Elizabeth was to re-establish the English Reformation after its overthrow under Mary. That Reformation "was, theologically speaking, one of the most adventurous and audacious—bravely audacious—of enterprises. Its object was to revolutionise the practical system of the English Church without breaking with history and the past; to give the Crown and the State vast and new powers of correction and control, without trenching on the inherited prerogatives of the spirituality; and to do this without the advantage of a clear, solid, well-tested consistent theory, or else, as in Luther's case, of a strong exaggerated cry and watchword. . . . The

Roman theory of the Church, and of Church reform as pursued at Trent, was compact and complete; the Calvinist theory of Church reform and Church re-construction was equally logical and complete; in each case all was linked together, consistent, impregnable, till you came to the final question of the authority on which all rested, and till you came to square the theory with certain and important facts. . . . The English Reformation ventured on its tremendous undertaking—the attempt to make the Church theologically, politically, socially different, while keeping it historically and essentially the same—with what seems the most slender outfit of appliances. . . . Its public purpose was, taking the actual historical Church of Augustine and Ethelbert, of Becket and Wolsey, of Warham and Pole, the existing representative and descendant of that supernatural society which is traceable through all the ages to Apostolic days, to assert its rights, to release it from usurpation, to purge away the evils which this usurpation had created and fostered."

But while this was the purpose of the Reformation it had to be carried out in haste and uncertainty, and often by the help of men who at most only half liked it. Everything that was done had a provisional air strangely unlike the systematic confessions of the foreign reformers. By the side of Calvin's *Institutes*, for example, the Thirty-nine Articles are but

a series of unconnected propositions. "Laws —all but the most indispensable ones—canons synods, tribunals, the adjustment of the differing elements of its constitution, were adjourned to a more convenient season which, in fact, never arrived." Thus the English Reformation belongs to a different order of things from the Continental Reformations, and as a consequence of this it has seldom been understood either by foreign Catholics or foreign Protestants. To both it presents itself as "an illogical and incomprehensible attempt to unite incompatible principles and elements." And at the time it must have seemed to the extreme parties that so strange a mingling of naturally discordant elements could not have a long life. "The English Reformed Church must soon choose its side ; must soon go backwards or forwards, backwards to its old allegiance, forwards to the clear definite position of the great Swiss and German reformers."

The wonder is that with all the probabilities pointing, as was thought, in one or other of these directions, the English Reformation took neither of them. The impossible effort went on succeeding. The compromise that could satisfy nobody did find those who were content with it. "The experience of three centuries has shown that the apparently loose, ill-jointed halting polity had both a firmness and an elasticity which more showy systems failed in. It has borne the brunt of time and change.

It has never lost its original, informing, animating idea. It has shown a wonderful power of obstinate tenacity against jars and shocks, a force of continuous growth, and of vigorous recovery after disaster and stagnation." In all this the Dean is going back to his position in 1845. The Oxford Movement was a repetition of the English Reformation. "Of each it is true that while it has been called a *Via Media*—a compromise—it was really an attempt, genuine, though rude and rough and not always successful, to look all round the subject," to find a theory which fits the facts. The two Reformations were the objects of identical predictions. High Churchmen, it was said, must either draw back or go further. There were examples in abundance of both courses —men in whom the Puritan temper revived when it seemed to be exorcised, men for whom the Roman system proved to have an irresistible attraction. But in spite of seceders on both sides the Oxford Movement lived on. It was true in the nineteenth century, as it had been in the sixteenth, that "with a kind of gallant contempt for the protection of a theory, we in England shaped our measures as well as we could, to suit the emergencies which at the moment most compelled the attention of the steersman at the helm."

From the definition of the English Reformation, Church passes to its history. It was confronted at starting by three formidable

difficulties: "In the first place the principle of authority had been most rudely shaken; yet it was necessary to invoke it at every turn." The Pope, as an authority, was gone. There were candidates in abundance for the vacant place. Every foreign reformer had a substitute of his own to propose. But the common characteristic of all these substitutes was that they gave away the principle on which the English Reformation rested. Those who produced them had thrown over a good deal more than the Pope. They had declined to "embarrass themselves by maintaining the continuity and identity of the existing Church with the historical Church of the past." But to let this go would be to give up what the English Reformers regarded as the foundation of their enterprise, and to identify it with one of the two extremes between which they sought to steer. Englishmen found a way out of the difficulty in an exaggerated idea of the personal rights of the Crown. It was a poor substitute for the authority of the Pope, but it was a substitute. "It served to consecrate the force which was judged necessary to maintain what had been settled as the order of the Church; and the time, and the temptation to appeal to it, whenever its countenance could be hoped for, became on all hands irresistible." But considered as a substitute for the Papal authority, the authority of the Crown had two sources of weakness. It offended the highest and most

spiritual minds in the Anglican Church, and thus reinforced the Roman attack by a constant stream of re-conversions. And it became, and remains to this day, a most useful instrument for carrying the Reformation further in the Puritan direction.

The second difficulty was the Roman attack itself. "With this impaired sense of authority at home the English Reformation had—as it has still—to confront the mightiest, the most imperious and exacting authority outside, which ever claimed and bore a universal sway over human conscience. . . . The struggle between England and Rome under Elizabeth, and in the first years of James, was a struggle of life and death. It was a struggle, begun in desperate and murderous fierceness by the Popes, in which no scruples were felt, no terms kept on either side." The truculence of theological controversy "was but a light matter compared with the terrible hostilities carried on, not by word, but by deed; war and conspiracy and massacre, the fanaticism of assassination and treason, met by sanguinary legislation, by cold and determined 'execution of justice.' . . . The Roman claims called in question not simply the foundations of the English Church, but the foundations of the English State and society. . . . We sometimes speak as if the crimes of the Roman party culminated in the massacre of S. Bartholomew and the cruelties of Alva. But, besides that

these unhappily had a terrible balance on the other side, they were not the worst. It is in the French Wars of the League, in the principles invented by their ecclesiastical leader, proclaimed in the pulpits of Paris, spread abroad by a thousand emissaries, put in practice by the assassins of Henry III. and Henry IV., that we see the real character of theories put forth by great and popular champions of Rome, and their false bearing on the primary conditions of human society."

If the Roman attack had commanded no better weapons than these, its force might soon have been exhausted by the very violence of those who directed it. Custom deprives even assassination of its terrors, and, when men no longer fear it, its use is at an end. But the Roman controversy had become more formidable on the intellectual side also. The Jesuits contributed to it not merely enthusiasm and political unscrupulousness, "but learning, the spirit of research, intellectual activity, and literary skill. Vast scientific systems of theology, like the great work of Suarez, unfolded and established with philosophic calmness and strength the Roman doctrine. To match such works as these there was nothing—I do not say in England, but even in Germany and Switzerland. There was nothing to match the subtlety and comprehensiveness of the *Controversies* of Bellarmine. There was nothing to match the imposing

historical picture presented in the *Annals* of Baronius. Rome had much more to say for itself than had appeared to Cranmer, or even to Jewell."

In this last particular the Roman had its counterpart in the Puritan danger. "The foreign Reformation, in its most vigorous and intellectual representatives — undoubtedly the French and Swiss Reformers — started with an imposing breadth and simplicity of principles, absolute and sweeping, to which the English laid no claim." The Marian persecution brought many Englishmen "into close contact with the keen and powerful minds who swayed the Reformation abroad," and when the exiles came back under Elizabeth they still looked to Geneva and Zurich for their inspiration. Thus a school grew up "strong from the first, and always, either in the Government or in opposition to it, energetic and determined, whose object was to carry change in the English Church, both in doctrine, usages, and discipline, to a point where all likeness was lost, not only to the unreformed, but to the ancient Church."

The ecclesiastical history of three reigns is the history of the Puritan attempt to capture the Church of England—an attempt resisted, with varying energy and varying success, by the Crown under Elizabeth and James, and triumphant under Charles I. "From the first the Puritans aimed at nothing less than

what they afterwards carried — not a mere change in this or that point, but a substitution of an entirely new polity and constitution for the existing one—of an entirely new idea of the Church for that one on which the Reformation in England had been based. Toleration was then on all sides not merely unacknowledged, but condemned. The demand of the Puritan was that nothing should be allowed but Puritanism."

In dealing with these books I have far overstepped the ordinary limits of quotation. But in no other way could I so well bring out Church's special qualifications as an historian, the comprehensiveness of his survey, the judgment which guided his selection of facts, the honesty which prevented him from pressing his conclusions any further than those facts justified. To him, history was a field in which a few great principles have to be applied to an infinite variety of circumstances. The same ends have again and again been reached by different roads, the same great purposes have been accomplished by methods which seem to have nothing in common. Lanfranc did GOD'S work by acquiescing in and using the ecclesiastical prerogative of William I.; Anselm did GOD'S work by refusing to recognise the same prerogative in William II. The English Reformation was carried through by means of the Royal Supremacy; the Oxford Movement has from the first been in conflict

with that supremacy. The best historian is he that can do equal justice to men, who, amid whatever diversity of means, have kept in view the same ends.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Writer : II. Critic.

OF late years journalism has greatly added to the volume of literary criticism. Reviews of all kinds have multiplied, and a constantly growing public has learned to look to them partly for guidance what books to read and partly to save itself the trouble of reading any. Much of what Church did in this way is buried in old volumes of the *Guardian*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Times*. But besides this, the regular employment of his leisure time in a country rectory, he wrote a few longer pieces which form two volumes of his *Miscellaneous Works*. By far the most important of these is the well-known Essay on Dante, which appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer* for January, 1850, and has been several times reprinted. Of this the Dean modestly says, in a preface dated February, 1888 : "I do not forget how a whole literature has grown up about Dante in Germany, Italy, and England, since I first ventured to write about him in 1850." And yet, after all that has been done, this Essay remains the best English introduction to the subject, whether for

the intending student or for the general reader. In the compass of less than two hundred "globe 8vo" pages we have a luminous survey of the condition of Florence in the later years of the thirteenth century, of the relation of the *Commedia* to Dante's own life, of the place which theology, politics, philosophy, severally hold in it, of the audacity and extravagance which surprise and disappoint us, of the "unimagined excellence" by which that disappointment is balanced. Dante's place in men's esteem had greatly changed even in 1850, and the half-century that has followed has carried the revolution a long way further. But the closing words of this Essay remain, and will long remain, the truest and the most eloquent tribute that Dante's English disciples have paid to the *Divina Commedia*. They "know how often its seriousness has put to shame their trifling, its magnanimity their faintheartedness, its living energy their indolence, its stern and sad grandeur rebuked low thoughts, its thrilling tenderness overcome sullenness and assuaged distress, its strong faith quelled despair and soothed perplexity, its vast grasp imparted the sense of harmony to the view of clashing truths. They know how often they have found in times of trouble, if not light, at least that deep sense of reality, permanent though unseen, which is more than light can always give—in the view which it has suggested to them of the judgments and the love of God."

The feature in Dante's life which most seizes Church's imagination is, as we might expect, the unexpectedness of the occasion which converted "a soft and dreamy boy into the keenest, boldest, sternest of poets." Dante was born with the poetic capacity—"sensibility, high aspirations, and a versatile and passionate nature." But it was the factions of Florence which made him a great poet. Without them "he might have been a modern critic and essayist born before his time, and have held a high place among the writers of fugitive verses. . . . But he learned in the bitter feuds of Italy not to trifle; they opened to his view and he had an eye to see, the true springs and abysses of this mortal life—motives and passions stronger than lovers' sentiments, evils beyond the consolations of Boethius and Cicero; and from that fiery trial which, without searing his heart, annealed his strength and purpose, he drew that great gift and power by which he stands pre-eminent even among his high compeers, the gift of being real." Italy was then the one country that could give him this training. The history of Italy is in the main a history of cities, and in the internal feuds and the "little summer wars" of its cities the great game of politics was played on a narrow stage, and with a corresponding intensity of purpose and passion. The year of Dante's birth, 1265, was the year of that victory of Benevento which gave the Popes the protection of France—a protection "dearly

bought by the captivity of Avignon, the great Western schism, and the consequent secularisation of the Papacy"—and made Florence "irrevocably Guelf." The divisions of Guelf and Ghibelline had by this time only a traditional connection with the old struggle between the Church and the Empire. The conflict "had passed over from the mixed region of the spiritual and temporal into the purely political." The Guelfs were still the liegemen of the Church and of the Pope, but the cause for which they now fought was the defence of the independence of Italy against the house of Swabia. From Italy the Emperor must be kept out, and the way by which the Guelfs sought to do this was to create a barrier of powerful cities in the north of the peninsula, and to make the centre and south dependent on the Popes. Thus the cry of the Ghibellines, the Emperor's liegemen, was authority and law, that of the Guelfs was liberty; "and the distinction as a broad one is true." "But a democracy would become Ghibelline, without scruple, if its neighbour town were Guelf; and among the Guelf liegemen of the Church and liberty, the pride of blood and love of power were not a whit inferior to that of their opponents." Still, though the motives and actions of the two factions were often indistinguishable, there were between them real differences of temper. The Ghibellines were aristocrats, the Guelfs were the party of the

middle classes. The Ghibellines "reflected the worldliness, the license, the irreligion . . . and at the same time the princely magnificence and generosity and largeness of mind of the house of Swabia." They were "careless of public opinion and public rights, but not dead to the grandeur of public objects and public services." The genuine Guelf spirit, on the other hand, "was austere, frugal, independent, earnest, religious . . . in its higher form intolerant of evil, but intolerant always to whatever displeased it." Later on Savonarola appealed to it, not in vain, "and the Guelf *Piagnoni* presented, in a more simple and generous shape, a resemblance to our own Puritans, as the Ghibellines often recall the coarser and worse features of our own Cavaliers."

But though Florence became irrevocably Guelf in the year of Dante's birth, the peace of the city was no more secure than before. The feuds between the black and the white Guelfs replaced those between Guelfs and Ghibellines, and when the black faction triumphed Dante began the nineteen years' exile to which we owe the *Divina Commedia*. Church dwells with special interest—one might almost say with special affection—on the Florence of this time. We have seen how long afterwards he found in these city conflicts a parallel for the Oxford struggle of the early forties. Writing nearer to the place and time to which he always looked back so fondly, he may have found pleasure in

describing the mediæval community which had furnished him with so perfect a type of fierce warfare within narrow limits. "Each party had their turn of victory; each, when vanquished, went into exile and carried on the war outside the walls; each had their opportunity of remodelling the orders and framework of government, and each did so relentlessly at the cost of their opponents. They excluded classes, they proscribed families, they confiscated property, they sacked and burned warehouses, they levelled the palaces and outraged the pride of their antagonists. To destroy was not enough, without adding to it the keenest and newest refinement of insult."

The fruits of exile are visible in every part of the poem. Not only is it "the work of a wanderer," not only is its very form "that of a journey, difficult, toilsome, perilous, and full of change." The circumstances in which much of it was written have left their mark in the "permanent scenery" of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*. Dante's own experience "furnished that picture of the traveller caught in an Alpine mist and gradually climbing above it . . . or that picture of the cold dull shadow over the torrent beneath the Alpine fir." It gives him the local names and local images in which he delights, and the characteristic sensations of the traveller. Church loves to bring together the passages in which these recollections occur, as well as those which show Dante's appreciation

of external nature. The mother bird awaiting the break of day, the awaking of the rooks, the song of the nightingale and the lark, the flight of the starlings, the cranes, the doves; the times of the day with their characteristic appearances, lights, feelings—"evening with its softness and melancholy, its exhaustion and languour," morning with its "scented freshness"—all these things may be found in the *Commedia*. But they may be found also in poets of a far lower order than Dante. They add to the attractions of the poem, they do not constitute its solitary greatness. That is due to its "comprehensive and vast conception, sustaining without failure the trial of its long and hazardous execution, and fulfilling at its close the hope and promise of its beginning. . . . No one ever measured the greatness of man in all its forms with so true and yet so admiring an eye, and with such glowing hope as he who has also portrayed so awfully man's littleness and vileness. . . . No one who could understand and do homage to greatness in man ever drew the line so strongly between greatness and goodness."

Church is admirable again on the political side of the *Divina Commedia*. Dante was no Ghibelline, but he had "a very decided and complete political theory which certainly was not Guelf." He anticipated the idea—even now unrealised in Europe—of a free Church in a free State. "In his philosophy the institutions

which provide for man's peace and liberty in this life are part of God's great order for raising man to perfection." Civil society had not been superseded by the Church, and the experience of failure had made it clear that the government of civil society was not a function of the Christian society. By the side of the universal Church there must be an universal monarchy—the visible impersonation of the temporal justice of God. God had placed this monarchy in the Roman people, and in the Emperors who had succeeded to their heritage. This ideal Empire is the subject of the treatise *De Monarchia.* "In the Middle Ages the Empire was still believed to exist. It was the last greatness which had been seen in the world, and the world would not believe that it was over." But Dante's desire to see the degeneracy of the Popes "corrected by a power which they would respect, that of the temporal sword," did not make his faith in their Divine mission and spiritual power any the less strong. "It would be to mistake altogether his character, to imagine of him, either as a fault or as an excellence, that he was a doubter. It might as well be supposed of Aquinas." Smaller men have found occasion in the *Commedia* for narrowing its interest "to politics, philosophy, the moral life, or theology itself." All such attempts to explain it are vain because all are inadequate. The *Commedia* has what each commentator finds in it, but it has what all the others find in it as well. "All

that is associated with man's history and existence is interwoven with the main course of thought—all that gives character to life, all that gives it form and feature, even to quaintness, all that occupies the mind or employs the hand, speculation, science, arts, manufactures, monuments, scenes, customs, proverbs, ceremonies, games, punishments, attitudes of men, habits of living creatures." But the purpose of the whole is missed if we forget that Dante "wrote not for sport, nor to give poetic pleasure; he wrote to warn; the seed of the *Commedia* was sown in tears and reaped in misery; and the consolations which it offers are as awful as they are real."

CHAPTER XV.

The Preacher.

THE Statutes of S. Paul's Cathedral seem expressly designed to chasten any ambition its Deans may entertain of becoming famous as preachers. The occasion which brings together the largest congregations is the afternoon service on Sundays, and at this the sermon is always preached by the Canon in residence. The Dean preaches in the morning, and that only on the greatest festivals.[1]

In Church's case, however, his reputation had been made in advance by a volume of *Sermons preached before the University of Oxford*, which had been published by Messrs. Macmillan, in 1868. Even when a sermon of his at S. Paul's had become an ecclesiastical event it remained true that his fame as a preacher depended on his printed, rather than on his spoken, words. In the printed book the preacher lives again, and appeals to the wider

[1] An exception to this rule occurred in August, 1885, when, owing to Dr. Liddon's illness, the Dean preached on the five Sunday afternoons. The sermons were published as *The Discipline of the Christian Character*.

audiences thus commanded with a force no less great than that which he exercised on those who filled the Cathedral dome. I do not mean that the personal note counted for nothing. On the contrary, it counted for a great deal.

The impression the Dean made on the actual hearers has been well described by Dr. Barrett,[1] an eminent Nonconformist, who heard him at S. Paul's one Whitsun Day: "I recall even now the spare figure, almost insignificant in its stature, standing in the pulpit, the upward look, then the quiet reading of the text, and then the whole vast congregation subdued into breathless attention, not by the spell of a great orator, but by the wonderful spiritual power of the man." Still, true as this picture is, it is also true that in Church's case the substitution of the eye for the ear involved far less loss than is ordinarily felt from this cause. The closeness of the reasoning, the directness of the style, the insight into the very heart of the subject are more evident to a solitary reader than they could have been to a mixed congregation.

In the three volumes in which his most characteristic sermons are brought together—*The Gifts of Civilisation*, *Cathedral and University Sermons*, and *Pascal and other Sermons*—there are three main groups which seem to me to contain the most striking and constant elements in the Dean's teaching. They are

[1] President of the Congregational Union in 1894.

those that deal with the relation of Christianity to civilisation; with the Judgment as the determining factor in the Christian prospect; and with the limitations of human knowledge. These subjects recur again and again in other sermons, but each of them specially belongs to one or other of the volumes I have named.

The Gifts of Civilisation dates from 1866. It is the first of a set of five sermons preached at Oxford in his turn as Select Preacher, and all dealing with the contrast—real and apparent—between the New Testament and the ordinary life of Christian men, between the proper use of the endowments "which the course of things has unfolded in human society," and the "wider prospects, more awful thoughts and deeper train of ideas and relations and duties" which belong to the future world. The Dean is not a preacher of smooth commonplaces. He does not disguise the want of likeness between these two states. "It seems to me," he says, "impossible to exaggerate the apparent contrast between Christian Society in its first shape, and that society which has grown out of it." The great question to which the Christian preacher has to find an answer is, "Is the history of Christian Society the history of a great evasion? Is Christian civilisation a true and fair growth, or is it, as it has been held to be, a great conspiracy to be blind?" The Dean is not disturbed by the contrast he thus frankly

recognises. Christianity and civilisation are both creations of God. "Christian society was meant to take in, as avowedly legitimate, other forms of life than those insisted on and recognised at first. It was *not* always to live by the literal rule, 'Take no thought for the morrow.' It was *not* always to set the least esteemed to judge, or to turn the other cheek. It was *not* always to decline the sword. It was *not* always to hold itself bound by the command, 'Sell all that thou hast.'" In many things that Christianity at first gave up—gave up at the call, the "absolute and unqualified" call of Christ—it now finds occasions and instruments of serving God. It is right that it should do one thing at one time and another thing at another time. Each has its part in the Divine purpose. Much that has its place and function to-day was rightly put aside as "irrelevant and insignificant" when the Eternal Son of God was on earth, and Christians were called on to sacrifice the world for a great object—an object in pursuit of which they were to "surprise the world with something unheard of, both in claims, and in end, and in power." The texts that bid us practise humility, self-denial, forbearance, unworldliness — have a meaning for all times and for all men. But they have not the same meaning for all times and for all men. For the days in which they were first spoken "they *did* mean something more than they do for ours."

The Sermon on the Mount preaches to us "the unalterable subordination of things present to things to come." But to those who actually heard it it preached this in a more heroic strain. To us it speaks of the "modest and unselfish use" of the constantly accumulating powers and gifts of civilisation, of "caring for better things than money and ease and honour," of being able to "see the riches of the world increase and not set our heart upon them," of being able to "admire and forego." But to the generation to which JESUS CHRIST came it spoke of greater things still, of "more direct and conscious service," of a great call and a great answer. And as often as that call is renewed the same appeal awakes the same spirit. It has been so in the past, it will be so in the future. "If great things are ever to be done again among us, it must be by men who feel that the severe and awful words of the New Testament contain the key to all triumphs that are to be had in the time to come." If Christianity is ever to do more than it has yet done, the language of the New Testament must recover its old meaning, the conditions with which the kingdom of heaven first came must be reproduced. It is those who fulfil them, and are not afraid of what they involve, who "will be the masters of the future, will guide the religion of serious men among those who follow us."

The second group, the Judgment Sermons,

belong for the most part to Advent, the season with which the question, What will become of all that we see, all that we do, all that we are? is most naturally associated. The Old Testament is full of the idea of judgment: it occurs again and again in the Psalms, it is the conclusion of the Preacher, it is the burden of the prophecies. It was left for the New Testament "to tell us the one thing more, which is the last thing we shall ever know about it while we are here"—that we shall be judged by JESUS CHRIST, that it is He Who will one day question separately every human being that has lived upon the earth what he has done with his life.

In one sermon the Dean takes the average world—the world of the Foolish Virgins, of the Slothful Servant—and presses on his hearers the question, "What will the carelessness, the negligence, the idleness, the improvidence of our quite homely lives look like?" In another sermon, after recalling the early teaching of the Apostles, and the place which the certainty of judgment held in it, the Dean draws out, in a wonderful passage, what is really involved in the words, "We shall all be judged." "All these men and women who figure in the rolls of time, whose reality seem to have passed away as if they were but mere characters in a story—whose deeds and purposes and goodness or wickedness we sit in judgment on, and dissect and guess at,

and on which, without scruple, we pronounce our sentence — whose names we make free with, and cover with admiration or insult, and invest with an imaginary personality, and call up before our fancy to make us sport— all these, the great, the noble, the saintly, the base, kings and conquerors, statesmen and rulers, famous queens and empresses, the saviours and the betrayers of nations, the mischief-makers and the peace-makers, the shadowy lords of the ancient world, Pharaohs and Cæsars, the well-known lords of the modern world, sage and poet and artist, the discoverers of new lands, the inventors of new knowledge, the great judges and painters and satirists of men . . . how many of us think, and how often, that all this great multitude are surely going, with ourselves, to a real and final judgment? It might sometimes increase, if not the charities of history, at least the caution and soberness of history, if we remembered that beyond the tribunal of opinion, beyond the tribunal of posterity is the tribunal of JESUS CHRIST."

Church was never more at home than when speaking of Pascal and Butler. Little as these great men resembled one another, there is a striking likeness between them on one point— their indignation with the indifference with which religion and the claims of religion are commonly regarded. Pascal looks out upon the world and sees, on the one hand, the

certainty of the moral law, of its supremacy and of its excellence, and on the other hand "the blinding and oppressive mystery" which hangs on everything outside the moral law. Man—"this marvellously compounded creature, strong even unto death and yet unstable as water, crossing and contradicting himself through life; the slave of nature which yet bows to the spell of his power; the slave of habits, yet their creator; the slave of imagination, of which yet he knows the illusions; the slave of opinions, for which he is yet responsible, and which he has contributed to accredit; seeking and finding, and seeking afresh; so ingenious, yet so stupid; so wise and yet so incredibly foolish; able to do so right, yet constantly doing so wrong; balancing between good and evil, sin and repentance, till the wavering is cut short by death,"—must for ever remain a mystery to himself, except so far as JESUS CHRIST has lifted one corner of the veil and allowed him to see a portion, but only a portion, of the purpose of his creation.

The same problems, the same contradictions are the subject of the *Analogy*. Butler, equally with Pascal, "is impatient of talk, and ornaments, and literary cleverness. He loses patience, not because men disbelieve, or doubt, or hesitate—he has a strange forbearance with them if they are serious—but because they trifle and play with questions, on the face of them so eventful and so awful, which cannot be put off, and on

which men *must* take their side." Like Pascal, again, he "is deeply impressed with the poorness of human life, the poorness of our knowledge, the poorness of our acquaintance even with religion, the poorness and unsatisfactoriness of all ways possible to us of examining and proving it." But poor as human life is it is yet "a part of something, the greatness of which no thought can fathom and no words express;" narrow and limited as man's condition is—"how narrow, how limited it is almost impossible to overstate—he is yet under the government of GOD, a real part of that infinite incomprehensible kingdom." The very imperfection of our knowledge "should make it infinitely precious to us, but it should make us modest, cautious, slow to rash assertion and bold denial. It should make us measure our words when we talk of GOD and His ways, of what He *ought* to do, and of what He *must* do."

CHAPTER XVI.

Last Days.

THE autumn of 1887 saw a decided change for the worse in the Dean's health. He had hoped to stand the winter in London, but by the end of October his bronchial tubes began to give in, and a month later a week of "fat black fogs thick with carbonic and sulphurous acids" drove him unwillingly to Hyères. What touched him more closely than his own condition was the appearance of serious symptoms of lung-trouble in his son—symptoms which put an end to his prospects at the Bar, and must at best condemn him to an invalid's life. The break-up came, however, with greater certainty and greater speed than the Dean had feared. The first days of 1888 brought his death, and made the first breach in a home-life which had been one of "singularly unclouded brightness." Almost at the same moment came the end of a thirty-four years' friendship—a friendship of which the Dean speaks as "one of the purest and most unmixed blessings of my life"—with Dr. Asa Gray. He had stayed at the Deanery in the summer, but he was struck down with

paralysis shortly after his return to the United States, and lingered only a few weeks.

After this similar partings followed quickly. In 1889 Church lost Bishop Lightfoot and Lord Blachford, in 1890 Cardinal Newman and Dr. Liddon—the death of the last depriving him of a colleague as well as of a friend, and coming upon him with startling suddenness. He was just able to officiate at Dr. Liddon's funeral on the 16th of September, but from this time his strength failed continuously and rapidly. He remained in London, however, until November, "working at the proofs of his book on the Oxford Movement, and still sometimes to be seen in his stall in the week-day services at the Cathedral." In November he went to Dover, carrying with him his favourite books, Homer and Lucretius, Dante and Wordsworth and Matthew Arnold, and "still following with something of his old keenness of interest the course of public events."

Those who are familiar with Church's sermons will remember how habitually his thoughts had dwelt on the life which is to follow this. "How one begins," he writes in September, "to wonder at and long to know that unknown place where, with our former characters and judgments and likings, we are soon to be as actually as we are here!" In old age, he writes a little earlier, "death is not an abstract thought but a real *move*, and at last it gets to be the only

reality that one has in view." It was this personal element in his sermons that did more than anything to make the Dean a great preacher. The mouth spoke not merely out of the fulness of the heart, but out of the fulness of the life. The hearer felt that the preacher had mastered in his own person the lessons he was giving to others. There is a striking instance of this in a letter written not long before his death. The reader has seen how he spoke of judgment in the pulpit of S. Paul's: this is how he spoke of it to himself: "I often have a kind of waking dream: up one road, the image of a man decked and adorned as if for a triumph, carried up by rejoicing friends who praise his goodness and achievements; and, on the other road, turned back to back to it, there is the very man himself, in sordid and squalid apparel, surrounded not by friends but by ministers of justice, and going, while his friends are exulting, to his certain and perhaps awful judgment."

On the 9th of December, says his daughter, "early in the morning and quite quietly," the end came. He had chosen as his last resting-place the churchyard of Whatley, and there, after services at S. Paul's, he was laid. The only memorial he would suffer to be raised to him was a stone like that which he had chosen to mark his son's grave at Hyères, with the same lines from the *Dies Iræ* inscribed on it:

"Rex tremendæ majestatis
Qui salvandos salvas gratis
Salva me fons pietatis.

"Quærens me sedisti lassus
Redemisti crucem passus
Tantus labor non sit cassus."

There is no need to add any formal appreciation of Church's character. If I have not, in some measure, shown him as he was, I cannot hope to make the omission good. But I should like to end with a few sentences which I wrote in the *Guardian* at the time of his death. I reproduce them not only because they give my own impression of him at a moment when the sense of his loss was fresh, but because they convey what I honestly believe to be the lesson which his life reads to all with whom the shaping of the ecclesiastical future in England in any way rests :—

During the last seven years, I said, it has been my good fortune to talk with the late Dean of S. Paul's about almost every ecclesiastical event of any importance. . . . In these conversations the Dean was sometimes very frank in his criticism of persons. But it was a frankness that was never hasty or unjust. His opinions were real judgments—formed after a full consideration, I might almost say with an intuitive knowledge, of all that ought to be taken into account. With all men beside that I have known there has been something to be

urged in qualification or extenuation of their conclusions ; with the Dean this process seemed to have been completed in his own mind before speaking. It was the judgment of a Court of Appeal, not of a Court of First Instance.

If I had to name the thought that had most entire possession of him during those years, I should certainly say the need of peace for the Church. And by this I do not only mean peace from litigation. Naturally this was the first object with him, but it was only the first among many. He wished with scarcely less intensity for peace from legislation, peace from synodical action, peace from reforms in themselves useful, peace which would give time to every Bishop to show what could be done in a diocese, to every Priest to show what could be done in a parish, by a diligent use of the powers and opportunities they already have.

Propter fratres meos et proximos meos loquebar pacem de te.

INDEX TO NAMES OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.

Arnold, Dr., 40–42.

Bagot, Bishop, 50-52.
Barrett, Dr., 213.
Bath, Lord, 121.
Beaconsfield, Lord, 122.
Bernard, Mountague, 74, 149.
Bennett, Miss H. F. (Mrs. Church), 78.
Benson, Archbishop, 150, 153.
Bentham, Jeremy, 40.
Blachford, Lord (Letters of), 3, 73; 65, 124, 125, 126, 149, 150, 154, 222; (Letters to), 46, 47, 89, 128, 129, 155.
Blomfield, Bishop, 53.
Booth, General, 185.
Boyd, Dr., 158.
Buckle, Canon, 63.
Bunsen, Baron, 23.

Cairns, Lord (Lord Chancellor), 121.
Chamberlain, Joseph, 163.
Church, Mary (daughter), 4, 5, 72, 156, 157, 163.
Church, Sir Richard (uncle), 164.
Clough, A. H., 40.
Cox, Rev. J. Bell, 150, 151.
Creighton, Bishop, 192, 193.

Davidson, Randall (Archbishop of Canterbury), 116.
Dolling, Rev. R. R., 107.
Duff, Sir M. Grant (Diary), 1.
Dupanloup, Bishop, 88.

Ewing, Bishop, 140.

Faussett, Dr., 55.
Forbes, Bishop, 140.
Forster, W. E., 163.
Froude, J. A., 24.
Froude, R. H., 6, 14–17, 19–21, 23–25, 29, 30, 39, 42, 78.

Goulburn, Dean, 43.
Gladstone, W. E., 2, 3, 83, 92, 116, 119, 123, 162, 163.
Gray, Dr. Asa (Extracts from Letters to), 80; 87, 93, 168; (Death), 221.
Green, Rev., S. F., 136, 137, 142, 143.
Gregory, Dean, 96, 97, 99.
Guillemard, Rev. H. P., 61, 62.

Haddan, Rev. A. W., 74.
Halifax, Lord, 148.
Hampden, Bishop, 31.
Harcourt, Sir William, 133.
Harrison, Frederic, 7.
Hartington, Lord (Duke of Devonshire), 163.
Holland, Rev. H. S., 94, 95, 99, 107, 128.
Hook, Dean, 51.
Hope, J. R., 110.

Jelf, Dr., 52.

King, Bishop, 150, 152, 153.
Knox, Alexander, 156.
Keble, Rev. John, 11, 14–21, 24, 30, 39, 43, 65, 103, 107, 113, 128, 148.

Liddon, Dr., 6, 7 (Extracts from Letters of, 126), 96, 108, 161, 162, 212, 222.
Lightfoot, Bishop, 96, 222.
Lowder, Rev. C., 104, 107.

Mackonochie, Rev. A. H., 104, 107, 145–148.
Manning, Cardinal, 110.
Mansel, Dean, 92, 98.
Marriott, Rev. C., 8, 65.
Mill, J. S., 40.
Moberly, Bishop, 8, 78.
Mozley, Dr., 62, 74; (Extracts from Letters to), 87, 98.

Newman, Cardinal, 2, 6–9, 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 25, 28–30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 42–48, 50–60, 63–73, 76, 92, 100–110, 151, 155–157, 178, 222.

Oakeley, Rev. Father, 40.
Owen, Sir Richard, 75.

Paget, Francis (Bishop of Oxford), 4, 127, 169.
Palmer, William, 26, 51.
Palmerston, Lord, 83.
Penzance, Lord, 122, 125, 129, 135, 136, 142, 143.
Phillimore, Sir Robert, 122, 125.
Price, Professor Bonamy, 43.
Pusey, Rev. Dr., 7, 29–31, 45, 51, 54–56, 65, 66, 88, 104, 107, 113, 114, 119, 122, 148.

Rose, Rev. H. J., 26, 156.
Ryle, Bishop, 152.

Salisbury, Lord, 121.
Scott, Rev. Thomas, 6.
Selborne, Lord, 121.
Shaftesbury, Lord, 119–121.
Smith, Rev. Sydney, 32.
Stanley, Dean, 97.
Suckling, Rev. R. A. J., 145.
Sumner, Archbishop, 53.
Sumner, Bishop, 53.
Swete, Dr., 5.
Symons, Dr., 88.

Tait, Archbishop, 116, 118–123, 131, 134–139, 141.
Talbot, E. S. (Bishop of Southwark), (Letters to), 130, 154.
Temple, Archbishop, 87, 147.
Thirlwall, Bishop, 122.

Ward, W. G., 39–48, 51, 56–64, 71, 105, 110.
Ward, Wilfrid, 40, 43.
Welby, Lady (Letters to), 160.
Wilberforce, Rev. Henry, 47.
Wilberforce, Rev. R. I., 29.
Williams, Rev. Isaac, 19.
Wiseman, Cardinal, 24, 46.

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